

NOVEMBER 1962/60 cents

**FOCUS**  
MIDWEST

62



Lovejoy and Evjue...  
**SYMBOLS OF A  
FREE PRESS**

*Irving Dillard*

**ON ECONOMIC  
SEGREGATION**

*Robert J. Havighurst*

**FUSION OR CONFUSION**

The Desirability of  
Metropolitan Consolidation

*Werner Hirsch*



Dear Mr. Crosby Kemper, sir,  
*Ellie Lu Kratz*



**A PRESENCE  
IN THE ROOM**

*Mark M. Perlberg*

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*The Marquise Of O- And Other Stories*  
*Morte D'Urban*  
*Silent Spring*  
*A Shade Of Difference*  
*And Others*

**ALSO** Voting Records of Illinois and Missouri Legislators/“For the Consumer”

# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The following exchange took place at the Illinois State Fair:  
Reporter: "Are you going to participate in televised debates of the issues with your opponent (U.S. Rep. Sidney R. Yates)?" U.S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen: "No." Reporter: "Why not?" U. S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen: "Why should I?"

Section 163.060 Missouri Revised Statutes 1949: Frances Willard Day shall be observed for instruction and special exercises relative to the history and benefit of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States. (Frances Elizabeth Willard, an American temperance reformer, became president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1879. For ten years she arranged one public meeting a day.)

The Illinois Public Aid Commission has decided to introduce a tough policy in the handling of relief funds. Harold O. Swank, executive director, declared in a directive, "Telephone service shall be allowed at the minimum rate when essential to employment or because of illness and there is no access to a phone. There are to be no exceptions to this rule. When neither of the above mentioned criteria is present, the recipient must be instructed to discontinue the telephone service immediately." Also classified as luxuries which recipients had one month to sell or dispose of are television sets, hi-fi phonographs, and deep freezers, among others.

From the letterbox of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch TV Magazine*: "Why in the world does the Telstar program always interrupt the ones we want to see the most? Yesterday I was watching 'American Bandstand' and Chubby Checkers was host. Then the Telstar program came on and I missed the rest of it. If this isn't enough, it's on Channels 5, 4, and 2 — all at one time. I think this is terrible." Miss J. Werkann.

—Clipping submitted by James P. Ryan

Any driver can now be stopped indiscriminately by the Kansas City police and then be searched for evidence of drunkenness, without having actually violated any traffic rules. One officer searched a man because he carried a 5 dollar bill, found a revolver, and charged him with carrying a concealed weapon. The case was thrown out as an invasion of the man's civil liberties. In another case Judge Thomas A. Moran discharged a defendant because the police could not prove a law violation. The following day the Kansas City police board passed a resolution approving these operations.

Midwest Republicans joined Southern Democrats in ridiculing a bill aimed at ending the employment of young children of migrant farm workers. After five hours of debate the bill was withdrawn.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* revealed that an article written by W. W. Fuqua, public relations director of the Missouri State Farm Bureau Federation, sharply critical of the U. S. Supreme Court and that it voted in favor of the Communists 74 per cent of the time, was circulated by Marvin C. Dobbs, Dunklin county agricultural extension agent, using his Government franking privilege. Dobbs was later reprimanded and told to pay the postage out of his own pocket. (Mr. Fuqua was the prime mover of the "Freedom Forum," discussed in "Censorship or Editing?" in the October issue of *FOCUS/Midwest*.)

Some years ago a wake was held in the home of a St. Louis south side Negro family. This family, very white-skinned, had never made pretense at being other than Negro. One of the sons, after a first and unsuccessful marriage to a Negro girl, married white and lived until his death with his wife and her family. Upon his death, his racial identity generally not known among his widow's friends, it was decided best to invite the Negro friends to the south side family home for a "Wake." Transporting the body back and forth would also have raised questions, at least in the mind of the white undertaker. Accordingly, the Negroes commiserated with the deceased's surviving family and the widow at the boyhood home. Everybody understood, flowers were all around and everything else was in order and proper for a wake except — there was no corpse.

## CREDITS:

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To Reunite St. Louis

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November, 1962

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# Letters

## Censorship or Editing?

F/M: If your news release . . . concerning the October issue article "Censorship or Editing?" is a fair interpretation of the depth and fairness of the reporting by *FOCUS/Midwest* your publication is in for rough sailing in the future.

James C. Kirkpatrick,

Publisher

*The Windsor (Mo.) Review*

(NOTE: Mr. Kirkpatrick is one of the directors of the Missouri Press Association. He darkly hints at some inaccuracies in the article, but fails to submit any corrections. A check among persons qualified to judge both in Columbia and Jefferson City, left no doubt that the article is accurate both in its facts and its implications. One conservative faculty member at the University of Missouri declared: "We generally felt that the article was leaning over backwards to be fair. We all knew what had happened and no one can doubt its accuracy.")

F/M: Your story "Censorship Or Editing?" which appeared in the October, 1962, issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* shows considerable research into the facts on your part and is accurate in every detail insofar as I know them.

As is evident by your story, a clear distinction exists between censorship and editing. A reporter welcomes editing by a good editor. No reporter in the American journalism tradition can accept political censorship.

Russell A. Mann Jr.

Columbia, Mo.

## George Anastaplo

F/M: The first issue is a distinguished one and if that standard can be maintained, the journal deserves wide support. . . . (Irving Dilliard's) article "No Justice for Anastaplo" and review of McAvoy's "The Midwest" interested me particularly . . . If there are a few more changes in the U. S. Supreme Court, Anastaplo may yet receive justice.

R. B. Downs

Dean of Library Administration  
University of Illinois

F/M: The article by Irving Dilliard entitled, "State of Freedom at Midwestern Universities," was an outstanding piece. I hope that *FOCUS/Midwest* continues in this particular vein. . . . The region needs the type of thinking exhibited in these first issues.

Boyd R. Keenan

Purdue University

F/M: I just finished reading Irving Dilliard's excellent piece on the Anastaplo case. It was a suitable introduction to *FOCUS/Midwest* and an inspiration to anyone who has followed George Anastaplo's struggle to be admitted to the Bar. I was sworn in as an attorney in Illinois . . . in Springfield. During the ceremonies we heard several speeches extolling the lawyer's independence and freedom of conscience. We also heard much of the lawyer's responsibility to develop firm character and the courage to fight for unpopular causes. Somehow these talks rang hollow . . . I could not help but think of the deep integrity of George Anastaplo and wonder why such a true advocate and idealist was never allowed to take the oath we took. I can only hope that the (Illinois Bar) Committee on Character and Fitness will re-examine the Anastaplo case some day and decide to admit him to the Bar. As one of the character reference said, "If admitted to the American Bar, he could do nothing that would not reflect glory on that institution."

William J. Martin

Assistant State's Attorney,  
Cook County (Ill.)

## Chicago Reviewers

F/M: I have been meaning for some time to congratulate you on your editing of the new magazine *FOCUS/Midwest*. It is a fine liberal effort and badly needed in this neck of the woods. I hope you will smoke out the academic liberals as subscribers. (I am afraid when you come right down to it, there aren't as many of these as there should be).

I like the content of the first issues which I have read carefully. All seems

to be excellent with the exception of the recent piece by Curtis L. Johnson. Since he is employed by the Encyclopedia Britannica, I think he should be more aware of the practical problems and facts of life. Although your reference to him as embittered gives a warning, I doubt very much that his personal attacks on people at the *Tribune* will help at all. On the contrary, it might well strengthen their position, just as Ted Kennedy was helped in winning the nomination overwhelmingly in Massachusetts when his opponent laid into him. I assume that the young man would like to improve the *Chicago Magazine of Books*. Or did he just want a chance to get something off his chest?

All right, the reviews are not up to the standard of the *New York Times* which lord knows is severely criticized; it is, however, it seems to me, pretty much up to the standard of the rest of the paper. I think to expect a former sports writer to suddenly blossom into a prime literary critic is asking a lot. As for Miss Butcher, she is peculiarly *not* the person who deserves such a personal attack. Part of her job is to be publicity gal for books, to be mistress of ceremonies and hostess to visiting literary firemen. I doubt that she has ever claimed to be a critic. I am sure she thinks of herself as a professional newspaper woman and as such I would guess that she has done more for the world of books than any other single person in Chicago for the last I should hate to say how many years. I admire this woman tremendously.

It seems to me young Johnson shows himself to be wet behind the ears. Coming from the East, I find the Midwest frankly a backward section of the country. It needs to be educated with such a magazine as yours. But his approach hurts rather than helps. Why does he expect the leopard to change his spots? It is only because of dedicated people like Fanny Butcher and the tiny staff at the *Tribune* that there is any book section at all. What a miracle that the *Tribune* has a book review section

(Continued on page 25)

## EDITORIALS

Several important choices face Illinois and Missouri voters this November. Two articles in this issue should be of particular importance to Missouri voters. Education is discussed by Robert J. Havighurst and metropolitan consolidation by Werner Z. Hirsch. Below we discuss some of the behind-the-scenes maneuvers affecting the Judicial Amendment before Illinois voters. These three issues are of primary importance — aside from the election of candidates.

ONE race gives us no difficulty. We could not care less whether Democrat Peter F. Mack Jr. or Republican Paul Findley is elected in the new 20th Illinois District, which includes Springfield and Quincy. Mack opposes foreign aid, medical care for the aged financed under the social security system, and generally supports conservative policies. His opponent, also an incumbent, opposes the U.N. bond issue, the retraining of unemployed, the proposed department of urban affairs . . . enough said, except he is also a stout supporter of Sen. Barry Goldwater. Surprisingly, and this speaks in Findley's favor, he favors an actual union ultimately for the free Western nations.

Two races are of importance: the senatorial race in Illinois and the race in Missouri's 2nd Congressional District.

U. S. Rep. Sidney R. Yates, the democratic senatorial candidate, is an effective and hard campaigner. Yates has pointed out to his electorate Dirksen's failure to support rural electrification, area development, manpower training, and social security expansion. He has accused the incumbent senator with defending the special interests of the drug industry during the recent debate on drug control. Dirksen has been on the defensive, causing uneasiness in the Republican camp, reports the *Congressional Quarterly*. The outcome will be largely determined, as are so many votes in Illinois, whether the expected heavy Cook County margin can offset downstate apathy. Yates, an original and independent thinker, should be elected.

IN Missouri's 2nd Congressional District, aggressive Philip V. Maher Jr., the democratic candidate, faces veteran Rep. Thomas B. Curtis. Rep. Curtis is generally looked upon as a moderate. This finds some justification in his support of liberalizing the Rules Committee (which Rep. Findley, for example, opposes). Yet, a look at his voting record reveals that he opposed an Urban Affairs and Housing Department, expansion of the Peace Corps, presidential authority to regulate agricultural and textile imports, foreign aid, federal aid for schools, the constitutional amendment to ban the use of poll taxes, among

others. Mr. Curtis has achieved, in reverse, what some liberal representatives and senators have also accomplished. He talks moderately but votes very conservatively. Many liberals vote progressively, but talk middle-of-the-road, afraid to publicly identify themselves with enlightened policies. Political wisdom might recommend this approach. However, voters would have a much clearer choice if the candidate's public pronouncements would more truly reflect his voting records, his true convictions. Judging Rep. Curtis on his voting record and not on his speeches, we cannot but strongly urge the election of Philip V. Maher, Jr.

### MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Unlike the federal constitution, state constitutions are burdened with details. In revising the present constitution, adopted in 1945, Missourians have the opportunity to adapt it to our times. It will be 1982 before another convention can be called. Objections have been made on the grounds of costs, technical difficulties, and the possibility of losing what was "gained" in 1945. The threat of "undue" labor and urban influence crops up in too many discussions. It appears that a concerted effort was made to keep interest in the convention from erupting while pointing to the bad, bad interests which may "usurp" the authority of the convention. Unless our formal documents reflect the democratic interests of those groups which compose our society, they will be circumvented or create tensions and disharmony. We do not fear urban or rural, labor or business interests. They have a right to fight for their political and economic interests. And they should be given the opportunity.

### MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 1

The permission to levy a county-wide tax will in some measure compensate for the uneven distribution of taxable wealth, and would tend to equalize educational opportunities in St. Louis County. Approval would permit county residents in a later election to set a school equalization tax rate of up to \$1 on each \$100 assessed property valuation. The majority of St. Louis County school boards have indorsed the amendment. Callous disregard for the conditions under which some children receive their education may cause the defeat of this amendment.

### MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 2

The amendment would establish a legislative committee which would add to the powers

of the legislature by reviewing all ". . . rules and regulations filed in the office of the secretary of state under section 16 of Article IV of the Constitution . . ." The committee would report to the General Assembly upon finding that the executive had passed any rule "not authorized by law or is out of harmony with the objectives of the law under which it was promulgated . . ." The Assembly can then suspend "any such rule or regulation . . ." until it can amend or repeal the law under which the rule or regulation was adopted. Passage would place excessive power in the hands of the legislature. It would permit interference with administrative authority and further dilute responsibility.

#### **MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 3**

The amendment enlarges the powers of the St. Louis County Council throughout the County. Passage of the amendment would relieve a few of the problems which are cited in favor of Amendment No. 4, the Borough plan. This amendment will solve some of the problems of St. Louis County. It is an interim step until a more satisfactory plan is adopted for the total metropolitan area.

#### **MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 4**

The St. Louis Borough plan would have had an uphill battle even if community forces in the St. Louis area usually supporting consolidation or merger would have strongly supported it. This is not the case. But, while the infighting in St. Louis is of importance, the outstate vote represents the unknown and probably decisive factor.

In this issue Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch analyzes moves for metropolitan consolidation. Dr. Hirsch assumes that centralized planning involves some sacrifice of personal freedom. But chaos can limit our freedom as effectively.

While we are registering this exception, pat assumptions must give way before the facts assembled by social researchers. The Borough plan leaves much to be desired and grave doubts have been expressed as to its feasibility and implementation. While we do favor a closer cooperation between the City and the County, possibly even merger, we cannot endorse this plan. Voters should weigh the alternatives carefully and reach their decision rationally.

However, this will not be the case. The plan will be defeated most likely, but on grounds which we reject: ignorance and fear. Sentiments polarize around "for or against merger." This simplification permits the taking of a position along predisposed attitudes, but doesn't do justice to the specific plan. Any plan for consolidation would evoke the same response based upon the same ignorance.

Fear of the lower economic classes, fear of the Negro, fear of having to share responsibility for the core of the area, the City of St. Louis, prejudge the Borough plan for the majority of suburban residents.

If the plan is defeated, leaders in the St. Louis area should speedily find alternative plans to solve the numerous metropolitan problems. Meanwhile Missouri voters can approve Amendment No. 3.

#### **ILLINOIS BLUE BALLOT JUDICIAL AMENDMENT**

Illinois voters will have the opportunity of approving the Blue Ballot Judicial Amendment in the November elections. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* points out:

" . . . Illinois's judicial system has been changed only a little since it was created in 1848. In that time the population of the state has risen from 800,000 to 10,000,000, and the system is overburdened, cumbersome, overlapping and wasteful. The amendment before the voters November 6 will unify the present multiplicity of courts into three, one each at the levels of trial, intermediate review and final review. The trial court will have power to organize itself into as many divisions as necessary.

The present judicial article in the state Constitution contains no language granting the Supreme Court rule-making and administrative authority; all Illinois courts operate as independent units. This deplorable condition will be remedied. The new system will bring about earlier trials and prompt appeals. . . ."

Illinois Democrats, business and labor, the newspapers, the Republican Party of Cook County, and The Republican state convention all have come out in favor of the Judicial Amendment. Even Mr. Irving Eiserman, former president of the Cook County Association of Justices of the Peace and Police Magistrates, who strenuously fought the 1958 amendment, now supports the revision of the judicial articles.

Is there any doubt, then, about the voter's approval of this much-needed court reform measure?

Not on the surface, but behind the scenes things are happening. In an election which demands a two-thirds majority, every vote will count.

What happened in 1958 may happen again. Hayes Robertson, the new Cook County Republican chairman, then a member of the Illinois Senate, worked and voted in the Legislature for the Judicial Article in 1957. After it was passed by the General Assembly, he worked assiduously against it in the 1958 campaign. (This year he is a supporter of

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Irving Dilliard

## LOVEJOY AND EVJUE --- SYMBOLS OF A FREE PRESS

It would be a wholesome thing for the United States of America if the 125th anniversary of the murder of abolitionist martyr Elijah Parish Lovejoy, which occurs November 7, were to be marked over the country as widely as it deserves to be.

Lovejoy school assemblies and Lovejoy convocations in colleges and universities, Lovejoy memorial sermons in churches and chapels, Lovejoy informational talks at civic, service, professional and patriotic meetings—all these would be appropriate and worthwhile in the month of November, 1962.

For the unbending anti-slavery editor of the Mississippi Valley weekly *Observer* is one of the most dramatic as well as most tragic figures in American history. Yet the sorry fact is that many accounts of our nation's development, particularly those written for school children, do not even mention Lovejoy's name.

Let the record now show that FOCUS/Midwest, as it rounds out its first six months, pays tribute to the fearless crusader who died at the hands of a mob on the streets of Alton, Illinois, in those tense times leading up to the Civil War. The young husband and father had not yet reached the age of thirty-five years when he was assassinated, Nov. 7, 1837.

It is not necessary to accept every view that Lovejoy held in order to accord him a rare place in the national gallery. His New England religious views were very strict and he accorded little tolerance for groups he did not trust. But after his faults are charged against him, the fact remains that Lovejoy wrote a brave and shining paragraph in United States history.

In recent years at least three books have been published on the Lovejoy theme. These come readily to mind:

John Gill's "Tide Without Turning: Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press," published by the Starr King Press Boston, 256 pp., \$4.50 (1958).

Merton L. Dillon's "Elijah P. Love-

joy: Abolitionist Editor," published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 190 pp., \$4.75 (1961).

Hazel Catherine Wolf's "On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement," published by the University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 195 pp., \$3.75 (1952).

With these books on Lovejoy's life available in the public library—and if they are not any librarian would be glad to order all on request—his short career does not need to be retold here.

Suffice it to say that he was born on a rocky farm overlooking a hill-ringed pond near Albion, Maine, November 9, 1802; that he was graduated in 1826 from Colby College in adjacent Waterville; that he became a Presbyterian minister and editor in St. Louis; that his views were not relished by the Southern sympathizers; that he moved his family and publication to Alton, where press after press was destroyed and where he finally was fatally shot at the door of a burning warehouse as he protected his fourth press.

Lovejoy was the first American editor to die in defense of freedom of the press and very few have been called to follow him in the century and a quarter since the transplanted Yankee's blood ran out on the cobblestones of Alton.

Today freedom of the press calls on editors to live for integrity of expression rather than to die for it. An editor who exemplifies the daily living free press is William Theodore Evjue, editor and publisher of the Madison (Wis.) *Capital Times*.

White-haired Bill Evjue (ev-yoo) reached the age of eighty on October 10. Thus he has lived more than twice the life span of Elijah Lovejoy. But there is much in common in their careers and in their intense devotion of their own concepts of honor and truth and the welfare of their fellow men.

Evjue told the story of his mother

and father, Nils and Mary Erickson Evjue, immigrants from Norway, in his page 1 column "Hello Wisconsin," on his eightieth birthday. He told how they made their new home in the lumber country surrounding Merrill, Wis. There Bill Evjue was born.

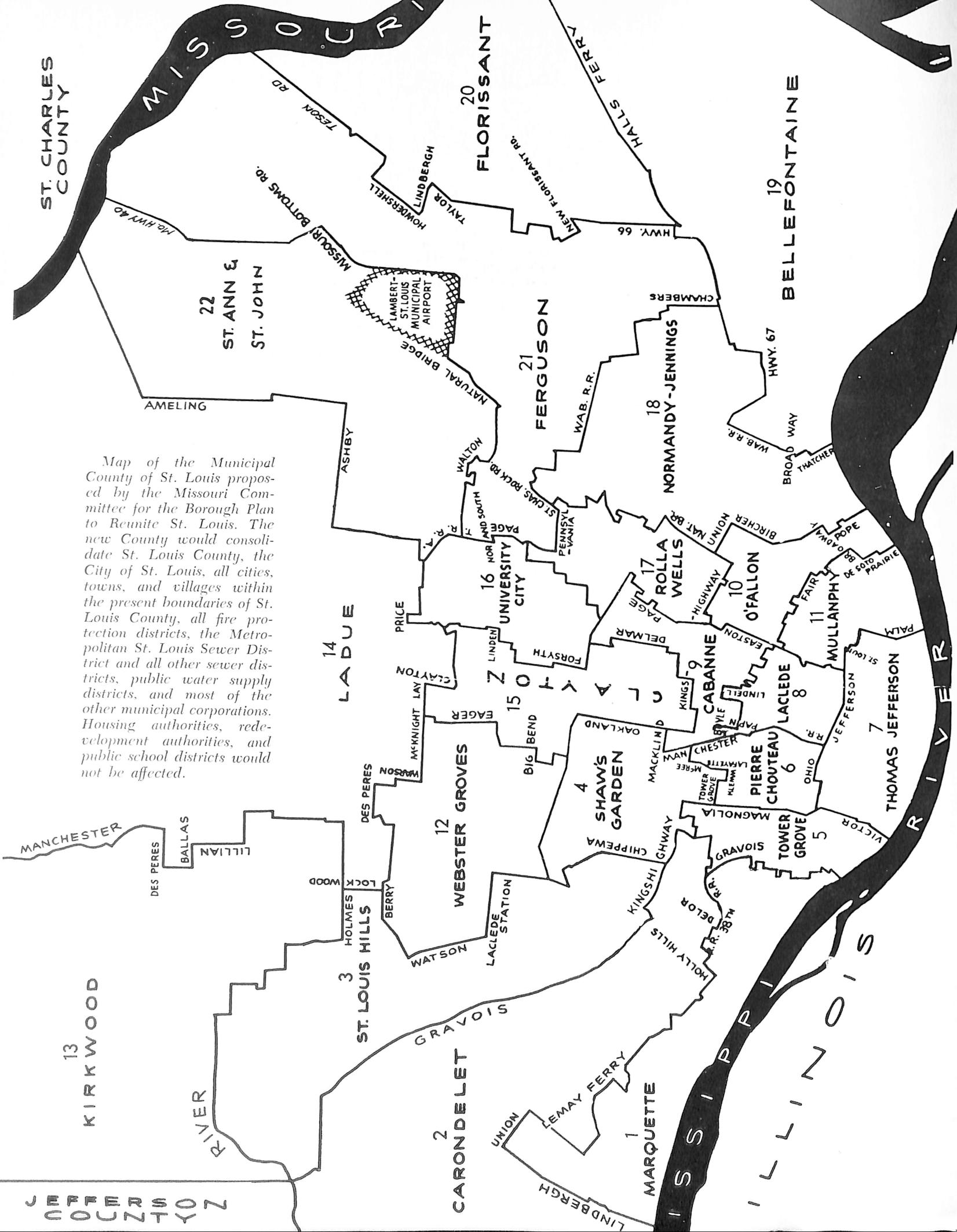
He did the hard work of a small town Midwestern boy of the '80s and '90s and then worked his way at the University of Wisconsin where he became a devoted admirer of the first Senator Robert Marion La Follette — "Old Fighting Bob" who led the liberal and progressive forces in the first quarter of this century.

Evjue started his newspaper career as a cub reporter on the Milwaukee *Sentinel* back in 1905. He was business manager of the Wisconsin State *Journal* at Madison in 1917 when its editor launched an intemperate, unjustified attack on Senator La Follette. The Wisconsin statesman was opposed to involvement in the war in Europe and this brought him bitter criticism.

As soon as this attack on La Follette appeared in print, Business Manager Evjue went to the editor, protested the attack and then immediately resigned. Almost at once he started the *Capital Times*. For a year the Madison merchants boycotted the new paper, but its readers and friends sustained it until it could obtain needed legitimate revenue.

Last April, Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalistic society, honored Editor Evjue by naming him as one of its annual fellows. The citation commended him for fighting "for honest government, better politicians, clean journalism and for what he believes would contribute to a better America. He has not been daunted by criticism, by the threat of the Ku Klux Klan, or by rabble rousing politicians, but has continued since 1917 to publish and edit a fearless and independent newspaper."

These Lovejoy and Evjue anniversaries are occasions for gratitude for their lives and contributions to a better America.





## FUSION OR CONFUSION?

# The Desirability of Metropolitan Consolidation

On February 2, 1961, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies held its 32nd annual meeting at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. They adopted a resolution which was later inserted in the March 22, 1961, *Congressional Record* by Senator Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) and which reads in part:

"Whereas metro-government is the nucleus of a movement to establish in the United States a Soviet style arrangement — dividing the Nation into metropolitan areas — each governed by appointed expert; and

Whereas this is in direct violation of the Constitution which guarantees to citizens, government by elected representatives; and

Whereas the metro-drafted model constitution, charters and laws, which are sloganized as strengthening the government are, in fact, disguised proposals for the abolishment of Constitutional rights, and for the overthrow of our form of government by interstate compact: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc., request that an investigation by appropriate committees of State and Federal Governments be instituted for the purpose of determining the degree of danger inherent in the metro collectivist philosophy (which already has infiltrated our dual governments at all levels) and is antagonistic to, and the antithesis of, our republican — or check and balance — form of government, erected as an institution of, by,

and for the people." (p. 4246)

A short while earlier the Daughters of the American Revolution had attacked the metro concept of city planning, fearing that it might help to set up "local units of a world government." Furthermore the D.A.R. pointed out that metro districts are likely to cross state lines "making hash" of the Constitution.

Both are conservative groups and we are tempted to associate the anti-metro position with conservative thinking, particularly since we can turn to Adlai E. Stevenson, an avowed liberal, and identify him as a pro-metro spokesman. Thus, for example, addressing the Conference of the American Council to Improve our Neighborhood, on May 5, 1959, he stated, "A Balkanized metropolis can probably cope, in daily desperation, with the problems of urban survival. It can make our day-to-day difficulties tolerable. But it can never conceive the great plans, set the great policies, make the great decisions, which are essential if the cities are to be built and rebuilt according to the blueprints of our hopes."

I have intentionally quoted these two positions, which are almost diametrically opposed, but I hope to dispel the notion that conservatives must be against consolidation and liberals for it. The case is not that simple, and I would like to develop a number of criteria which might be used to evaluate the desirability of metropolitan consolidation.

ONE of the important political criteria is the close relationship between government and the people. Local government has traditionally been sentimentalized as the last

bastion of "town meeting" government. It must be kept small, it has been argued, in order for the people to control it at the grass roots level; local government is the only level at which people and government can effectively meet and engage in democratic give and take. Yet, all too often we have seen only a few people turn out for town meetings or local elections. The proponents of small local governments have brushed this argument aside, expressing the conviction that whenever important issues arise, such as improved public education or zoning changes, citizens show up *en masse*.

Fiscal equity is another criterion. For example, primary and secondary public education is provided in the United States within a federated political structure generally formulated over a century ago, when the present complex and interacting industrial economy was only beginning to emerge. At that time individuals, and the goods and services they produced and consumed, were largely immobile, with the result that their activities were usually coterminous with the local school district where the administrative power was con-

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centrated. Within the context of today's industrial economy, people as well as their commercial activities and products continually cross political boundaries so that a wide diffusion of effects can be expected from a local government's decision with respect to public education. Its effects will be felt in varying degrees in other school districts. More specifically, parts of both the costs and benefits generated by the provision of public education in a particular local school district will ultimately be carried by individuals elsewhere.

Equity is further jeopardized by the fact that as the community grows, some school districts will be required to absorb the children, thereby increasing their needs for educational facilities while others will acquire the industry and business concerns which have a large tax base. The equity argument is mainly based on inter-community benefit and cost spillovers and their effects. To varying degrees it is also applicable to their local government services. For example, the cost of mosquito protection in one community depends partly on the level of services provided in another. The extreme case is the service that cannot be supplied by one community alone. For instance, no single community could successfully fight smog.

Furthermore, the equalization of service levels; i.e., offering everybody in the metropolitan area identical services, is often discussed as a criterion. No doubt consolidation can help attain this objective. While great inequalities, no doubt, are undesirable, it is less clear that complete equalization is consistent with the basic American philosophy. As John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation, has pointed out, "The eighteenth century philosophers who made equality a central term in our political lexicon never meant to imply that men are equal in all respects . . . Nor do we Americans today take such a view . . . In fact, if we are really serious about equal opportunity, we should be infinitely serious about individual differences because what constitutes opportunity for one man is a stone wall for the next man."

Thus American capitalism since the early 1930's has accepted the notion that it is the government's responsibility to assure every person of a certain minimum income. This philosophy has been incorporated into our farm, labor, and social security legislation, all of which provide floors below which income, wages, or prices cannot fall. Equal in-

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*"Since the suburbanite usually earns his livelihood in the city, much of his wealth might be located there and he also wants to take advantage of the city's cultural and entertainment facilities. Thus, in the long run, it is not to his best interest to abandon the city to the low income groups."*

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come, however, is not a tenet of American capitalism. Mandatory equalized service levels, in which floor and ceiling coincide, prevent groups of individuals from taxing themselves more heavily, or less so, in order to enjoy the kind of a service they prefer.

These are also a number of economic criteria that can be used to appraise the desirability of metropolitan consolidation. Growth, efficiency, and costs, are the most important. Unified, well integrated and forward looking planning, it has been argued, should stimulate the economic growth, which is so badly needed in many areas. As individuals we decide where to live, where to work, and how to travel to and from work; but if multiplied a million fold without public control, it is put forth that these decisions are not likely to bring about the most adequate living conditions. They have, in fact, already brought about the major ills of metropolitan areas — traffic congestion, fiscal crises, slums, juvenile delinquency, etc.

President John F. Kennedy on March 9, 1961, in his special message to Congress on Housing and Community Development urged the American people to make urban America a more efficient and orderly place in which to live. Some argue that this will call for more planning, control, and guidance, and less individual freedom on the urban scene. Many British planners, for instance, feel that the United States is less mature in its approach to urban problems than is Great Britain. For one thing, the central government in England has been given more authority in the field of city planning than has the federal government in the United States. The British government has responsibilities for fiscal policy as well as for final administrative decisions. In 1946 Parliament passed a bill authorizing the establishment of "new towns" to help alleviate the difficulties brought about by urban over-concentration. Correlated with this program of town planning a na-

tional policy has been initiated to lead industrial development away from the congested areas into those that have an unemployment problem.

Let us next turn to some efficiency and cost considerations. It is by no means clear that all functions connected with local urban government will be best discharged, technically speaking, within areas of the same size. It is quite possible that one unit will be best equipped to make the decisions on the location of a police station; a somewhat larger unit will be best prepared to decide on the nature of the police protection to be provided; and lastly, a third unit might be best qualified to raise the necessary money. This argument is particularly likely to hold in the case of public education.

Turning now to the cost argument, it has been contended that urban governments, like private firms, could benefit from major economies of scale, once they grow and consolidate, i.e., the larger the government unit the more efficient it is. This issue has been carefully investigated by work carried out at Washington University during the last few years. The specific question being studied is, "What is likely to happen to the costs of fire protection, police protection, public education, road and street service, and refuse collection, should all of St. Louis County and St. Louis City be consolidated?" Actual data of St. Louis County and the City of St. Louis were fed into high speed electronic computers and analyzed with the aid of statistical techniques. In relation to all five services, which account for around 80 percent of all expenditures, consolidation was found to promise few, if any, significant economies of scale. Except for very small communities, e.g., those with less than 4,000 inhabitants, per capita expenditures are therefore unlikely to be affected by consolidation in a major way. If there is an optimum size in terms of economic efficiency, it appears to be the medium-size communities of 50 to 100 thousand residents.

**T**HESE findings are perhaps somewhat unexpected and we might therefore want to ponder them a bit. It appears that many of the forces that lead to economies of scale in the private sector of the economy do not exist in the public sector. On the contrary, certain inherent qualities of some urban government services will not permit growth in the size of the operating unit. Thus for instance, primary schools will have to continue

to be quite small as long as parents are unwilling to permit their children to walk long distances to attend. Likewise, the size of a firehouse in the city depends to a great extent on the territory that it must protect. Its size is basically subject to the maximum distance a fire truck can cover to reach the scene of a fire within an acceptable period of time. Good police protection also requires that distances are not too great.

Other economies from consolidation are similarly limited. The only factor purchased in large quantities by local governments in manpower. But concentration of manpower leads to unionization and this, in turn, increases costs. Of course, there are some economies that can be achieved through bulk purchases of supplies and equipment used by government agencies. However, these minor savings are likely to be outweighed by inefficiencies resulting from top-heavy administration and ills of political patronage that often accompany too large a local government unit. Recent studies in a number of other metropolitan areas and the State of California confirm these findings, i.e., that consolidation is only likely to produce greater efficiency if local government units are very small.

**V**ARIOUS plans for metropolitan consolidation have been proposed in large urban areas across the country. One such plan, the "Borough Plan" for St. Louis City and County, will be on the ballot on November 6 this year. Instead of discussing the details of this Borough Plan and if, for example, it is fair to have all the people of Missouri vote on governmental arrangements that will directly affect only the people of the St. Louis area, I propose rather to look at two metro governments now in operation to see what we can learn from them. Dade County, Florida, i.e., Miami, has the only major experiment in metropolitan government adopted in the United States in modern times, and its metro form is modified. Greater Miami simply converted the old county government into a new one with metropolitan functions. No attempt was made to form a new super-level of government. The integrity of the 26 municipalities was preserved, but the county has authority to require their meeting minimum standards of service in such areas as police and fire protection, and public utilities. The county may perform such functions in the cities within its borders when they fail to

meet the standards or when they invite the county to take over. Those services that are not area-wide are left in the hands of the individual cities.

The development of Metro government in Dade County has been handicapped by confusion as to what its fiscal powers are. If, for example, the government is a county government, its taxing powers are less than if it were regarded as a municipality. The mandate given by the state permits the Board of County Commissioners "to levy and collect such taxes as may be authorized by general law and no other taxes." The limitation probably resulted from the legislators' desire to keep Dade County dependent upon the state for her fiscal operations. In any event, the lack of precedence in the field of consolidating county government has been a notable drawback. During its five year history it saw its first chief executive officer quit under fire. His successor, Irving J. McNair, angrily resigned in August of this year after the voters of Dade County approved two amendments to the metro charter curbing the powers of the county manager. The amendments require the Commission to approve the manager's selection of department heads and the merger of departments. Advocates of strong, metro type government contend that their enactment reduced the Dade County manager to little more than a clerk who administers at the Commission's will. As of this writing it appears that civic leaders in Dade County have successfully prevailed upon him to withdraw his resignation and stay on at least temporarily.

Only one other metro plan is working today on the North American continent. It was established in Toronto, Canada, more than eight years ago. Metro in Toronto has a "supermayor" and a rather complicated system of taxing and financing. The towns operate their own fire departments, manage and equip their schools, provide and maintain local streets, distribute water, collect refuse, and perform a few other functions. Metro builds and operates trunk water mains, reservoirs, a

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*"Except for very small communities, e.g., those with less than 4,000 inhabitants, per capita expenditures are therefore unlikely to be affected by consolidation in a major way."*

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sewage-treatment plan, and is responsible for major arteries. It appoints the transit commission and finances its operation. The Metropolitan School Board helps finance and plan the location of new schools, but the policy aspects of education are invested in the towns. But, Toronto, too, is having its troubles. A recent feature in the *Toronto Daily Star* was headed "Taxes — Metro's Crazy Quilt of Inequalities." The lead sentence reads, "One of the great promises held out for the Metro system was that it would bring about equalization of taxes. It has not."

In June of this year, residents of Davidson County, Tennessee, in which Nashville is located, voted to consolidate the city and county governments into a new metropolitan government. This is the first positive vote in a number of years during which we had seen the defeat of the metro concept in Nashville, Cleveland, St. Louis, Macon, Sacramento, Durham, and others.

What are some of the considerations that are likely to affect voters, in addition to the criteria we have enumerated?

It is important to realize that metropolitan areas are in no way homogeneous in their interests and outlook. Consolidation is believed to produce a better climate for economic growth. Therefor certain very vocal groups favor it almost as a matter of course. Newspapers, real estate interests, banks, retail trade, railroads, and utilities fall into this category. Such interests would like to see further industrialization because they would benefit from the increased economic activity, business volume, and profit.

A second group, much less vocal, is either indifferent to growth or opposed to it. The large manufacturer who sells in the national market, for example, does not benefit from local growth. It leads to competition for his labor force and to wage increases. Local businesses often think they have much to lose by strengthening the local government's position to where it will be able to employ the tactics of a countervailing power. These firms gain by dealing with many small urban government units rather than with one large one.

The average white-and blue-collar worker likewise shows relatively little interest in industrialization; his employment opportunities are more dependent on the general level of economic activity than on the growth of local industry.

Many residents of metropolitan

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areas are confronted by a dilemma. Those whose business benefits from economic growth tend to object to it in their other capacity of home owners. They have distinctly different interests as producers than as consumers, and particularly as consumers of suburban amenities of life. Industrialization interferes with those amenities, bringing with it traffic congestion, smoke, juvenile delinquency, and other undesirable side effects. Individuals have become less producer-oriented than they formerly were because of the shortening of the work week and the general rise in the standard of living in the United States.

The ethnic issue is perhaps the most fundamental. In most metropolitan areas, lower income minority groups have been forced to live in the core city and their status, as low income earners, has forced expenses for social services on the city that do not exist in suburbia. Both racial and economic considerations favor the *status quo* for the suburbanite. One fear, not usually openly articulated, is that a metro plan would condemn the better neighborhoods, would spread the lower income population throughout the area, and bring everyone together at a common level lower than the one upper income whites are enjoying at present.

It is very possible that this train of thought is shortsighted. Along with the rapid growth of the population of minority groups in the core cities in the last twenty years, their political and economic power has increased apace. Let us not forget that today the population of many of our core cities is thirty to thirty-five percent Negro. However, since the suburbanite usually earns his livelihood in the city, much of his wealth might be located there and he also wants to take advantage of the city's cultural and entertainment facilities. Thus, in the long run, it is not to his best interest to abandon the city to the low income groups.

Some people feel that consolidation may widen the gulf between the individual voter and his government. Those who fear racial integration, or who benefit from the suburban amenities of life, are convinced that their power is much stronger under the present system to oppose steps inconsistent with their interests. Government consolidation reduces their veto power. But perhaps the strongest force against consolidation in the past has been the fear of change. A change involves uncertainties. Most urbanites do not feel that the urban problem is

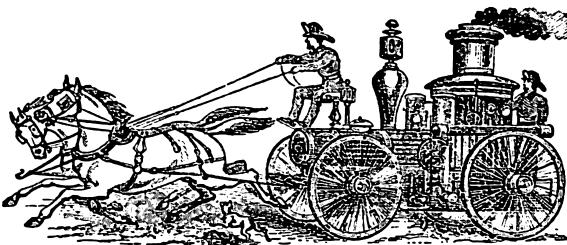
sufficiently acute and severe to warrant major changes, particularly if the implications cannot be clearly foreseen.

**M**ETROPOLITAN consolidation is almost a revolutionary step. It is certainly a major departure from the past experience of most urbanites. Therefore if, for example, the voters of Missouri should reject the Borough Plan on November 6th, a variety of much less revolutionary steps will present themselves. On the one hand, the powers of the county government could be strengthened and broadened. One could devise a program which would offer municipalities a partnership for the planned and enlightened development of the entire county. Under such a partnership, the county government would greatly improve and enlarge the professional staff of its Planning Commission which would then offer its services, free of charge, to the various communities in St. Louis county (none of which have their own professional planner). To assure implementation of plans consistent with county-wide objectives, the county government could offer financial support for maintenance of roads, parks, fire and police protection, etc. It could sponsor a County Development Commission and coordinate urban renewal activities.

On the other hand, the county tax base could be pooled to underwrite minimum service levels, as is visualized in connection with public education in St. Louis County. Further state and federal aid could be offered for those programs which complement county-wide objectives.

Finally, selected government services could be consolidated into special purpose districts, as was proposed some years ago by the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. Any of these alternatives would be less revolutionary than complete merger, as visualized by the Borough Plan, and yet would lead in the same direction.

Citizens face a difficult question in considering alternative ways of improving metropolitan government. The problems of urban living in American cities have multiplied and become increasingly complex. Many ills are becoming more and more acute despite attempts at treatment. But does the inconvenience incurred by the situation warrant introducing more central guidance and control, and the corresponding sacrifice of personal freedom that necessarily follows centralized planning? I think that this is the crucial question that must be decided.



Dear Mr. Crosby Kemper, sir,

I and my mutual Republican girl-friend were drinking coffee in my kitchen this A.M. and we decided to write and tell you we are for you 100 per cent and hope you won't think we are too forward. Like we drink coffee together every A.M. either in her kitchen on the even days and in mine on the odd days and today is an odd day and besides I have all the newspaper clippings about you working on your campaign. Working so hard, too. So that's how we decided to write and tell you how we are following your career and what all you do in the newspapers and we are backing you up to the hilt 100 per cent like I say.

Like the way you put that professor in HIS place out there at the Kansas City University when you were saying that all Socialists were atheists and he said that there were some Socialists who even went to church and even claimed to be churchmen. Boy, I guess an egghead like that will say ANYTHING and we sure do think you did right in ordering him right out of the University Hall and writing to the trustees and telling them plain and straight that a man like that ought to be fired. He ought. My mutual Republican girl-friend thinks you should have taken down the names of the students who sashayed out with the professor and we will bet you could easy show that they have been BRAIN-WASHED with their nose in a book all the time instead of acting like any normal 100 per cent American boy. You keep right on speaking out and working for what's right and you can depend on us right up to the hilt like I said.

Like we were looking in my newspaper clippings that I save where it says, "Kemper assails President for asking Americans to abandon political cliches." I'm glad you didn't fall for THAT malarky. A thing like that would be downright un-American. A person should ought to speak right out, just plain words, like you do when you say, "It's time to awake!" and like when you explain about how you're running on principles and you won't compromise your principles and so on and come right out for " . . .

individual enterprise instead of federal control." (My mutual Republican girl-friend was reading that clipping and she read it " . . . individual liberty." Ain't that a RIOT!). What I mean is that there is absolutely nothing as good as old-fashioned campaign speeches that sound so comforting and familiar to a person. Like when you say you're going to "Call a spade a spade" and about the "Surge to save the country from cataclysmy" and how "The soul is more important than the power of the state" and giving " . . . the ADA a communist tinge." My teacher always used to tell us that fire engines was RED! Mr. Kemper, sir, the way we feel any man who has the gumption to stand up and say right out like you do that you "Bear the label proudly as a liberal, a conservative and a super-patriot" and say that we should knock down the Berlin wall and blockade Cuba. You really are liberal, if you know what I mean, sir.

So you can see how we have thought a lot about your campaign and are following your career and all and we have an idea also you maybe could get your friends from Johnson County in Kansas to help. Like I know they are writing letters and phoning to get up the money and otherwise helping your campaign. Well, I and my mutual Republican girl-friend know for a fact that a lot of these Kansas people use their Kansas City, Missouri, office address where they work and then they can get books from the public library without paying nothing and nobody even says a word. Well, we figure that wouldn't it be a neat idea with you being a banker and all and having lots of

influence if you could work it so's they could VOTE from their office address too? Boy, we could for sure clobber Long that way.

I guess I better had close now but I will say that my grampa — out in Montana — would certainly have enjoyed my clippings where you say the Republicans are the true liberals and you didn't want the Democrats to even use the word on account of "It's a respectable word and they have no right to it." Grampa always said the Democrats were unrespectable and weren't entitled to nothing respectable, not even words like "liberal." I learned a lot at my Grampa's knee and he taught me also to think straight and I tell you it sure is good to see someone around finally in these smart-alecky days of the new frontier who has got the guts and courage enough to stand up for my Grampa's convictions. Now maybe I shouldn't say so on account of I don't quite get it clear in my head about where you say "Seeking new political alignments" but honest I can't for the life of me picture your own Grampa going for liberal or Republican and I tell you the truth all this criss-crossing back and forth is somewhat confusing to I and my mutual Republican girl-friend even.

She thinks it is real cute about the Abe Lincoln part, him being tall and Republican too and I told her Abraham Lincoln was only six foot four inches and I bet you're even taller! She says you should cut your hair long and maybe grow a beard for the campaign. I will agree wouldn't it be a wonderful coincidence if you would cut your hair long only not down to your shoulders maybe but I would certainly advise not to grow a beard. You yourself say it is absolutely true that people have no standards and instead of Mister Lincoln they might think you are some kind of a beatnik from way past.

Very sincerely your 100%  
Ellie Lu Krats



Ellie Lu Krats is a Jackson County (Missouri) housewife and a Republican.



# ECONOMIC SEGREGATION THREATENS EDUCATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/ *Robert J. Havighurst*

*Educators Must Utilize Schools  
As An Instrument  
For Social Urban Renewal*

At present every big city is becoming more segregated economically and racially.

The United States Supreme Court by a unanimous decision in 1954 declared that racial segregation in the public schools is contrary to the United States Constitution. The Court declared: "Segregation of children in the public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities." The Court went on to say that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The same evidence applies with great force to any separate educational facilities where one group is looked upon as superior and another group as inferior. Separation on the basis of socio-economic status is as much a separation of superior from inferior as is separation on the basis of skin color.

This separation is not the inevitable result of differences in income or wealth. Irrespective of the economic status of the parents, schools can be economically integrated. If they are not, school administrators must accept a large part of the responsibility. Their refusal to adapt school policies to the needs of urban social renewal, is a vote against urban social renewal.

Socio-economic segregation is not "natural," a result of "unchangeable natural laws," and a "social reality" with which we should not tamper, and about which we do not need to feel guilty. Something can be done to reduce this type of segregation in our schools.

The urban lower-class school is a twentieth century phenomenon of the American city. It is a school with more pupils from a working class than any other home. As cities grow, they tend to become stratified by income, socio-economic status, race, and other social distinctions. Families move in search of "better" living conditions — that means those families who can afford it. Their departure and the fact that their places are taken by people below them in social status, ages and downgrades large sections of the city. Economic ghettos spring up. The \$16,000-home children are separate from the apartment-home children as well as from the \$27,500-home children.

Many people move to find a "good" place for their children to live and go to school. A good school in the eyes of middle-class people is one

which is middle-class or at least mixed-class, which ranks between lower-class and middle-class.

There is a crisis point where middle-class parents are likely to become anxious. They begin to think of removing their children from a school which begins to include more than a certain proportion of lower-class pupils. Obviously, this depends upon the attitude of the parent, the tradition and racial composition of the school, the type of school, and the quality of the teacher.

It is at this point, that the school administrator has his first (and sometimes his last) opportunity to maintain a mixed-class school by accepting the responsibility for the composition of his school.

**P**ROBABLY, economic segregation in the schools goes farther in big than in small cities and towns. The writer has done some exploring and calculating of schools in Prairie City, a town of 6,000; in River City, a city of 45,000; in Kansas City; and in Chicago.

Prairie City has two small 4-grade elementary schools, one in the factory district, and the other on the opposite side of town in the upper-middle class residential district. There is also an 8-grade elementary school in the center of town, serving its own area for the first four grades and the whole town for grades 5 to 8. It has only one high school, which is a mixed-class school.

River City has 15 public elementary schools, five in the lower, five in the mixed, and four in the middle-class areas. Since there is only one high school, it is a mixed-class school.

Kansas City has an elementary school distribution not much different from River City, except that there are relatively fewer middle-class schools, since the middle-class suburbs are not included in the Kansas City School District. Kansas City has 16 junior and senior high schools, and only half of these schools are of the mixed-class type.

In Chicago the proportion of children in lower-class elementary schools is estimated at 46 per cent, and the proportion in middle-class schools at 19 per cent. In the public high schools these proportions are 39 per cent in lower-class, 39 per cent in middle-class, and 22 per cent in mixed-class schools.

In a lower-class secondary school there is frequently a device known as the multi-track system which is established to create several schools

within a school. The "advanced" or "honors" track contains most of the middle-class children together with some working-class children, thus giving this track a middle-class or at least a mixed-class characteristic. The lowest track and often the middle one or two tracks are sure to have the lower classes.

The growth of urban lower-class schools can seriously harm the democratic evolution of our society.

Firstly, pupils of a lower-class school achieve less well than they would if they were in a mixed- or middle-class school. Of course, it would not be true to say that the lower class school caused the low achievement of the pupils in that school. Their low achievement can be due to a number of causes, e.g. the lack of intellectual stimulation in their homes or an inherited inferiority in intelligence. But attending a lower-class school does have something to do with the lower academic achievement of the pupils.

Secondly, pupils of a lower-class school have lower educational aspirations than they would have if they were in a mixed- or middle-class school. A student from a working-class home is more likely to want to go to college if he is in a middle- or a mixed-class school than if he is in a lower-class school.

Thirdly, the pupils of a lower-class school show less "talent" than they would if they were in a mixed or middle-class school.

Fourthly and finally, the lower-class school reduces the democratic quality of our society. Several of the characteristics which we regard as essential for a democracy are systematically undermined by socio-economic segregation in lower-class schools. One of these is the opportunity for upward social mobility. This depends in our society on opportunity for success in secondary and higher education, and this opportunity is less in lower-class schools.

**T**HE mingling of youth of all social backgrounds strengthens our democracy. For this reason the comprehensive high school (comprehensive in the sense that it is a mixed-class school) has been regarded by American educational leaders as the best possible kind of school. James B. Conant said:

"Our schools have served all creeds and all economic groups within a given geographic area. I believe it to be of the utmost importance that this pat-

*"(The school administrators') refusal to adapt school policies to the needs of urban social renewal, is a vote against urban social renewal."*

tern be continued. To this end the comprehensive high school deserves the enthusiastic support of the American taxpayer. . . . We Americans desire to provide through our schools unity in our national life. . . . Unity we can achieve if our public schools remain the primary vehicle for the education of our youth, and if, as far as possible, all the youth of a community attend the same school irrespective of family fortune or cultural background."

Educators and social scientists who are disturbed by the existence of lower-class schools must choose one or both of two policies for action. They may accept the existence of such schools and work to improve them within these limits. Many people in effect resign themselves to the fact of economic segregation, and say that we must make the best of it. In particular, they say that the schools should not be used to influence the structure of the city; this is a reality with which the schools must live.

Or they can work through the schools *as well as* in other ways to reduce economic segregation. That is, work for mixed-class schools by working for mixed-class communities. The enormous material resources now going into physical urban renewal offer a physical base for social urban renewal, and the reduction of economic segregation.

The writer believes that *both* policies are desirable.

The lower-class school can be improved at the elementary and secondary levels, with major emphasis on the elementary school. A great deal of energy and ingenuity is now going into this effort, especially in the larger cities. Some of the steps which should be initiated are:

1. Enrichment programs for culturally-deprived children at the kindergarten-primary level. A number of large cities are trying out a type of program that gives special assistance to the primary grades in the slum schools, on the theory that many of these children lack parental ex-

amples and stimulation from parents to read and to achieve well in school. They fail to master the task of reading, and stumble along for the first few years in school, after which they become confirmed non-learners, and social misfits during their adolescence.

2. Nursery school programs especially designed for lower-class children. At this age basic language patterns are learned which probably go a long way toward structuring the mind. The language used in the typical lower-class home handicaps the child for learning in school. Nursery schools for three and four year olds may make up for intellectual deprivation in the home.

3. Talent discovery and development programs at the junior and senior high school levels. Probably a good deal of potential talent among lower-class pupils goes undiscovered by the usual testing programs. These boys and girls do not show up as well as their middle-class equals, and they are overlooked as candidates for honor courses and college entrance programs in high school. A program of this sort is commencing in the Kansas City Public Schools, assisted by a substantial fund for scholarship aid. The youth who are being picked at the 8th and 9th grade levels have done average school performance, but are seldom outstanding. They need counseling and stimulating to think of college as a possibility for them. Their parents need information about the importance of a college education.

5. Work-study programs for mal-adjusted youth at the junior high school level. Under present conditions some 15 per cent of boys and girls fail to grow up successfully through the avenue provided by the schools. They become non-learners, and react either with hostility and aggression or with apathy to the school after about the 6th grade. In slum areas this proportion is likely to reach 25 or 30 per cent. They are alienated from the values and ways of behaving of the school and other middle-class institutions. For such youth, especially for the boys, there

is a good deal of experimentation with work-study programs which aim to give the youth a chance to grow up satisfactorily through the avenue of work. Most such programs commence with youth at the age of 16, when they are legally able to drop out of school if they wish to do so. Such programs appear to be having some success. Possibly, better results will be achieved in programs commencing work-experience as a part of a school program as early as 14, or the eighth grade.

However limiting the school program to improvement of lower-class schools, while the process of economic segregation goes on in our cities, is a tacit admission that "separate but equal education is enough for lower-class youth. There are two groups of people who accept this proposition. One group consists of apathetic educators and social scientists who believe that we are caught in the working of social laws which will have their way, no matter what we do.

Another group consists of educators and social scientists with a keen social conscience and a desire for action, who have fundamental doubts about the success of a middle-class society in meeting the challenge of urbanization and industrialization. They seek to organize a working-class community to defend its way of life and to increase its standard of living. Even though they do not like the idea of economic or racial segregation, they accept this as a part of reality and attempt to build a strong militant lower-class community which knows how to cultivate its own interests in the modern city.

**T**HE writer belongs in another group who believe that we should increase the number of mixed-class schools, and reduce the amount of economic and racial segregation in the schools and in the community. This group believes that the schools should be used as instruments for *social urban renewal*.

This group of people works for all-class or mixed-class communities as the building blocks of the metropolis to come. They believe that, aided by the vast expenditures to which our big cities have committed themselves for urban renewal, the new megalopolis may consist of a set of sub-communities of 50,000 to 200,000 population which are relatively complete in themselves for the ordinary needs of family and cultural life. They believe that many of these communities should be cross-sections

of the social structure of the larger society, with people of the upper, middle, and working classes living in the same area. In particular, they want to rebuild the present slum areas to suit a population of middle-class as well as working-class people.

This group does not believe that the city of the future will do away with all selection of one's neighbors and the playmates for one's children. But economic or racial segregation by larger units than 20 or 50 thousand or more is neither inevitable nor desirable.

The community in which the writer lives is an example of a partial attempt to create an all-class community. The process of urban renewal erased a sixty-year old five-story walk-up apartment house that had been cut up into so many small slum units that the place became known as Bedbug Manor. Now, on some of the same ground, there is a large modern air-conditioned apartment building, with busy traffic ways on all sides of it, which is more or less affectionately becoming known as Monoxide Manor. We certainly are not sad because Monoxide Manor has replaced Bedbug Manor, but we should be sad if the schools of this community lost all the children of Bedbug Manor and had only Monoxide Manor children in their place.

If mixed-class communities are to be retained in these cities, the middle-class people must quit moving out to suburbs. They will do so if we adopt school policies aimed at maintaining mixed schools. We need flexible and experimental educational programs and policies to help improve our democratic urban society. We need this flexibility not only within the four walls of the school, but also in the relations of the school system to the community it serves.

*"Economic or racial segregation by larger units than 20 or 50 thousand or more is neither inevitable nor desirable."*

*Robert J. Havighurst is a professor of education at the University of Chicago since 1941. He has conducted research in the field of human development at all age levels. In recent years Professor Havighurst has spent a good deal of time in South America, as Fulbright Professor at the University of Buenos Aires, and on a UNESCO appointment as Co-Director of the Brazilian Government Center for Educational Research. He is the author and co-author of eight books, including *Growing Up in River City*, reviewed in this issue.*

# A Presence in the Room

MARK M. PERLBERG

JOURNAL



Occasionally, when reading a group of poems by a poet whose name is unfamiliar, or in viewing paintings by an unknown artist, one comes upon a work that seems to have an independent existence, a life of its own, quite apart from you as viewer, or from the man who created it for that matter. If the work is a painting, it makes a *presence* in the room—a vital third party where two people are talking.

But what gives the painting that additional quality, which makes it an entity greater than the sum of its parts? Two things, I think: the artist's own angle of vision, his view of what he knows and feels, plus the skill to objectify this with power, and something like perfection. Yeats said, ". . . a poem comes right with a click, like a closing box." When a poem or a painting, or perhaps another form of art "come right," it embodies, indeed it *becomes* the artist's personal vision. (In earlier times it might have been a civic or a religious, rather than personal vision.) It is then that works of art assume an existence of their own. And people talk about such works as if they were alive. It will *live*, they say, while another, they feel sure, will be forgotten in a few years.

There was a recent exhibition of paintings in Chicago, nearly all of which had this quality. And to make matters more remarkable still, the artist is 81 years old, and he began to devote his full time to painting only when he turned 70 and retired. He is Garfield Seibert of Louisville, Ky. His first Chicago show was held at the Gilman Galleries.

Mr. Seibert was born in Louisville. His father was a sign painter whose early death ended his son's formal education at the beginning of the sixth grade. Young Seibert left school and went to work as a water boy on a road construction gang. After a succession of jobs that included cashier, window trimmer, sign writer, and bundle



"Bellarmine Road" by Garfield Seibert

wrapper for a Market Street haberdasher, Seibert settled down to work at the main Louisville post office, and there he remained for 48 years, painting only occasionally. When he retired in 1951, he was financial vice president.

"As the years go by," Mr. Seibert says, "you are advanced to more responsible positions, you marry, rear a family, have sickness in the family, have more responsibilities at home as well as at work. All the time you have in mind the things you would like to do if ever you have the opportunity."

Seibert had painting in mind, and shortly after he retired he entered an adult education class in painting at the University of Louisville. Within six months, he was painting just as he paints today—which is to say he paints with meticulous care, landscapes of the inner and outer life.

His paintings are subtly surreal. They hold in tension the cheerful and the ominous. As Allen S. Weller, dean of fine arts at the University of Illinois puts it, "They keep us guessing about final meanings."

In *Bellarmine Road*, twisting, leafless catalpa trees line a dirt road whose destination is unknown. In *Old Bickel Quarry*, there is something ominous about the red roofed building back of the quiet quarry pool and the finely articulated, sunlit trees. (Is there a double meaning in the word, quarry?) In *Fall Across Dingle Road* (Seibert loves roads), the tension is almost audible. One half expects a ranting maenad to race into the picture and disrupt the stillness of the landscape, painted in brilliant autumn colors.

It was an exciting show. I hope Mr. Seibert receives the attention and acclaim that he deserves.

# FOR THE CONSUMER

## National Labor Relations Board

### DECISIONS AND ORDERS

In agreement with the Trial Examiner, NLRB found that American Screen Products Co., Chatsworth, Ill., violated the Act by prohibiting employees from discussing union activities on company premises and from wearing union buttons, and by threatening to close the plant if the IAM, AFL-CIO, was selected as bargaining representative.

The NLRB affirmed Trial Examiner's rulings that employee Delbert Bishop was unlawfully discharged by the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., Canton, Ill., for his organizational efforts among the employees on behalf of the Retail Clerks Union Local 536.

### INTERMEDIATE REPORTS

Trial examiner found that Northwestern Photo Engraving Co., Inc., Chicago, unlawfully interrogated an employee concerning activity in Chicago Photo-Engravers Union No. 5; and refused to bargain with the union by not complying with the union's request to link the names of employees with their employment data and knowingly furnished inaccurate misleading information; and unilaterally granting a wage increase during a bargaining session.

### Miscellaneous

A recent action taken by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity bars two companies from receiving any more Federal contracts until they stop allegedly discriminatory employment practices. The concerns are Danly Machine Specialties, Inc., of Cicero, Ill., and Comet Rice Mills, Inc., with plants throughout the South.

WE, THE PEOPLE! 111 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, states that its purpose is "Patriotic - fraternal - educational. To save free enterprise system and constitutional form of government." Members pay \$6 yearly. Funds are also solicited to help cover expenses of the organization's "Constitution Day" convention, held in September. Their goal is \$60,000. Harry T. Everingham, founder and executive vice president, declared that

the U. S. Treasury Dept. has not declared contributions to "We, The People" tax exempt. Twenty per cent of their funds are spent on administration.

## Food & Drug Administration

An FDA survey showed that more than 2,500,000 tablets of Thalidomide (the drug allegedly responsible for birth deformities) were distributed to 1,267 doctors. FDA reported that 410 out of 1,168 doctors interviewed by its inspectors had at that time made no effort to contact patients to whom they had given the drug. 50 per cent of the doctors interviewed had no record of the quantities returned or destroyed. Among the patients who had received thalidomide were 3,760 women of child-bearing age, of whom 624 were reported as pregnant.

## Federal Trade Commission

### Answer to FTC Charges (Companies ask that the complaint be dismissed.)

The National Macaroni Manufacturers Assn., (NMMA) 139 N. Ashland Ave., Palatines, Ill., and its members have denied FTC charges of illegally rigging the price of durum wheat and suppressing quality competition in macaroni products.

FTC charges that deceptive pricing, savings and guarantee claims have been made for bedding and furniture sold by nine affiliated Midwestern retailers were denied.

A denial answer was filed to the FTC's complaint of last August 22, which cited Estee Sleep Shops, 2400 W. 21st St., Chicago, Ill., and which alleged that Estee assembles furniture and sells both through its nine retail stores.

### Initial Decision (These are not final and may be reviewed by the Commission.)

An order by a FTC hearing examiner would require eight affiliated concerns which sell real estate advertising to stop obtaining advertisements for property through deception. Among them is United Intercharge, Inc., of Illinois, Chicago, Ill.

### ORDER

The FTC has ordered J. A. Folger Co., 330 W. 8th St., Kansas City, Mo., the nation's second largest coffee manufacturer, to stop discriminating among competing customers in paying promotional allowances.

The FTC has ordered Hilton Watch and Clock Co., Inc., and Winkler Watch Co., both of 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., to stop falsely pricing and guaranteeing watches and misrepresenting their jewel count, shock absorbing qualities, water resisting characteristics, and metal composition.

The FTC has ordered the Nuarc Co., 4110 W. Grand Ave., Chicago, a manufacturer of equipment used in printing, offset printing and lithography, to stop discriminating among competing customers in paying advertising allowances.

### Complaint (Respondents are granted 30 days in which to file an answer.)

Al Robbin, trading as A. Robbin & Co., 321 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill., an importer, wholesaler and retailer of fabric piece goods, has been charged in a FTC complaint, that some of the fabric imported by Mr. Robbins was so highly flammable as to be dangerous when worn.

Hadacol, Inc., 919 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., is charged in a FTC complaint with making false therapeutic claims for its "New Super Hadacol" liquid and capsules.

Estee Sleep Shops, 2400 W. 21st St., Chicago, has been charged by the FTC with making deceptive pricing, savings, and guarantee claims to sell bedding and furniture.

The FTC has charged Winston Sales Co., Inc., 4100 W. Grand Ave., Chicago, Ill., a general merchandiser, with using deceptive television commercials which misrepresent the quality of a kitchen knife distributed by it. Winston also is charged with misrepresenting the regular retail price of the knife and a food chopper.

**Consent Orders** (Respondents' agreement to discontinue challenged practices is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission of a violation of law.)

A consent order announced by the FTC forbids Altheimer & Baer, Inc., 414 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill., to misrepresent the composition, quantity, quality, usual price, availability or performance of any product. The concern sells dishes, tableware, sheets, towels, watches, fishing equipment and various other articles to retailers.

The FTC has issued a consent order barring Republic Molding Corp., 6465 North Avondale Ave., Chicago, Ill., a manufacturer of plastic kitchen products and other houseware accessories, from discriminating among competing customers in paying promotional allowances and in furnishing services or facilities.

Samuel Murrow and Co., 318 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill., has consented to an order prohibiting it from misbranding fur and wool products and from falsely advertising the former, the FTC announced.

The Borg-Erickson Corp., 1133 N. Kilbourn Ave., Chicago, Ill., has consented to an order prohibiting it from misrepresenting that its bath room scales are instruments which show exact weight of the person or thing weighed, and indicate increases or decreases in weight by the ounce, the FTC announced.

Tom C. Lange, president and majority stockholder of Tom Lange Co., Inc. 1 Produce Row, St. Louis, Mo., is forbidden by a consent order issued by the FTC to accept unlawful brokerage on his own purchases of citrus fruit and produce.

The FTC announced that Blum's Vogue, Inc., 624 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., and Irving Eisen, an official, have consented to an order prohibiting them from misbranding and falsely advertising furs.

Helene Curtis Industries, Inc., and a subsidiary, Central Beauty Equipment Co., Inc., both of 4401 W. North Ave., Chicago, Ill., have consented to a FTC order prohibiting them from misrepresenting the merits of their electric hair dryers used in beauty shops.

Green's Furs, Inc., 656 Broadway, Gary, Ind., has consented to a FTC order forbidding it to misbrand and

falsely advertise furs. According to the complaint, various of the concern's fur products were not labeled with information required by the Fur Products Labeling Act.

A consent order issued by the FTC forbids Superior Insulating Tape Co., 3100 Lambdin Ave., St. Louis, to misrepresent the length, width, weight, thickness, area or quality of tape and other products it manufactures.

A consent order announced by the FTC forbids Fairbanks Ward Industries, Inc., 666 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill., to misrepresent the composition, quality, usual price or availability of its merchandise.

**STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF**

FOCUS/Midwest published monthly at St. Louis, Missouri for September, 1962.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Charles L. Klotzer, 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis 32, Mo.

Editor: Charles L. Klotzer, 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis 32, Mo.

Managing editor: None.

Business manager: None.

2. The owners are, FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Co., Inc., P.O. Box 3086, St. Louis 30, Mo.; Mrs. Libby Bass, 15 Portland Place, St. Louis, Mo.; Charles Bernt, 2717 Lincoln, Evanston, Ill.; Eugene Buder, 1 Beaver Drive, St. Louis, Mo.; David W. Carter, 2601 S. Warson, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Edwin E. Clarkson, 6768 Cherry, Kansas City, Mo.; William H. Danforth, 7 Black Creek Lane, St. Louis Mo.; Robert T. Drake, 11 S. LaSalle, Chicago, Ill.; Mark D. Eagleton, 3746 Grandel Square, St. Louis, Mo.; Charles L. Klotzer, 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis, Mo.; Sidney Lawrence, 4307 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.; Louis Lerner, 7519 N. Ashland, Chicago, Ill.; Mugwumps, Inc., 1012 Baltimore, Rm. 810, Kansas City, Mo.; Richard Nelson, 30 W. Monroe, Chicago, Ill.; Robert F. Picken, 1250 W. Schubert, Chicago, Ill.; Henry V. Putzel, 1220 Log Cabin, St. Louis, Mo.; Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. John A. Semmelmeyer, 2 Berry Road Park, St. Louis, Mo.; Sam Shaikevitz, 7562 Buckingham, St. Louis, Mo.; Richard Yalem, 120 S. Central, St. Louis, Mo.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 3048.

CHARLES L. KLOTZER

Editor & Publisher

Sworn to and subscribed before me this

2nd day of October, 1962

(Seal) Miss Carol Wittmann

(My commission expires Sept. 7, 1965)

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# BOOKS

## Heralds The Twentieth Century

THE MARQUISE OF O— AND OTHER STORIES, *Heinrich von Kleist*; translated from the German with an introduction by Martin Greenberg and a preface by Thomas Mann, (Signet Books, New American Library, 75 cents, 284 pp.)

While the judgments of men may err, it is the province of time to set them right, and now some 150 years after his death, the eight stories written during his brief lifetime (1777-1811) by Heinrich von Kleist are published together in their first English translation in an inexpensive paperbound edition. The book is a reprint of Criterion's five-dollar edition of two years ago.

To those who know his plays, stories, and journals, Kleist approaches the giants of German literature—Goethe, Schiller, Kafka, Mann. Yet in his day his stories were condemned as nihilistic and barren of art (by no less a figure than Goethe himself), and none of his work has been generally available in English until three or four years ago, when paperback publishing brought his plays into print, if not production.

Kleist's trouble, of course, was one common to men of genius. He was intellectually and emotionally in advance of his time. He was a modern writer who possessed the sensibilities and concerns we associate with modernism nearly a century before the revolutions in science, technology, aesthetics, and social structure occurred which have given us the disposition in art and behavior we call modern. Kleist's life belongs in the annals of pre-Freudian psychoneurosis. His adult years were a succession of anxieties, failures, inhibitions, suppressed passions, false starts, and finally, suicide. The life is relevant 150 years later because it

gives roots to the art.

Kleist's characters move in a world of moral ambiguity, troubled by deception of the most evil sort, filled with ambivalent feelings, and falling victim to sudden violence. Their fates are unpredictable, and they respond to uncertainty with a confusion characteristic of the twentieth century. In "Michael Kohlhaas," a story as magnificent as the best of Chekhov or Mann, Kohlhaas insanely tries to reform the world through terrorism. In "The Beggarwoman of Locarno" the master of the manor sets fire to his house to exacerbate his horror. In "The Marquise of O—" the noble lady falls in love with the man who raped her.

It is news of the twentieth century which Kleist brings us, breathlessly told news filled with horrible events and unbearable truth: appearances are contrary to reality, man is at war with the universe, and God is without power. And he said it before Kafka, Dostoyevsky, or Camus. I would plea with you to read him.

—Webster Schott

## Trials and Tribulations of a Catholic Priest

MORTE D'URBAN, *J. F. Powers*, (Doubleday, \$4.50, 336 pp.)

The writing prowess of J. F. Powers comes upon one with the subtlety of the Crusades. That the man has talents longer than his short stories is bold fact in his first novel, "Morte d'Urban."

Sinclair Lewis immortalized a type of clergyman in "Elmer Gantry"; Powers nudges Gantry into the wings with a similar character who happens to be more believable and wonderful—Father Urban of the Order of St. Clement.

Urban is a middle-aged Catholic priest who likes an urban scene—"for many years travelling out of Chicago, which I guess I still think of as home"—and who oozes urbanity at every opportunity. He prefers

steak to fish, sports cars to Chevrolets, and golf ("He was limiting himself to eighteen holes a day") to making converts. Still his silver tongue wags constantly on the behalf of his order and his faith.

In Father Urban's opinion his works and accomplishments rival a dozen men. Egoism, vanity, and a martyr-like spirit qualify him, but don't necessarily caricature him. He's a good fellow trying his best to lick common obstacles of apathy, lack of recognition, stupidity, decisions of authority. Urban side-steps the hideous personality that was Gantry's by his harmlessness, his comic-seriousness, and some very human day-dreams (to have married, to someday write a novel). What's more, Urban believes he's a powerhouse of preaching and a leader of men, when in reality life's forces do their usual job of steadily battering him down.

## FRIDAY

By Lynne Lawner

Gorgonian, the moon still fixes  
Its eye of ice on roofs of fire.  
Grinding gears of lovers tire,  
Butchers pause with their joyous  
axes.

Tomorrow—the hissing brass of  
bars,  
At noon a dish of veal for Adam,  
The midnight mauling of her  
macadam,  
The normal slaughter of the stars.

Lynne Lawner has published poetry in New World Writing No. 10, Riverside Poetry, Best Poems of 1955, Granta, Botteghe Oscure XXV, and the Atlantic Monthly. Publication of Lawner's collected poems are scheduled by Atlantic-Little-Brown for spring, 1963.

The Order of St. Clement roughs it in the Church's hierarchy. No one senses this as keenly as Urban; therefore his removal from Chicago, where the possibilities for remedying the situation are immense, to a one-stop-light town in Minnesota fells him temporarily. But Urban knows his lucky cards—charm, shrewdness, and a wealthy pal. He plays them all, and nearly succeeds in transforming an ignominious retreat into a prosperous and popular community of souls.

The ways of God are mysterious to man, and the road to Heaven is strewn with boulders. Urban tries to make a saint out of his millionaire friend and loses the monetary support. A pretty woman lures Urban to a castle where she not only attempts seduction but proves to Urban he hasn't a friend in the world. Though Urban emerges triumphant in office—he's elected head of the Chicago diocese—he dies in spirit.

Character study outdistances other fine aspects of "Morte d'Urban." Powers' clergymen sparkle with differences under the same black cloth: Father Placidus, who led Urban to the priesthood and whose "main concern after his religion was athletics"; Wilf, rector of the Minnesota retreat, whose abilities as a carpenter supersede those of a religious leader; Monsignor Renton, who "talked like a drunken curate. One moment it was 'God is not mocked' . . . and the next moment it was 'Your ass is out'."

The laity entertains with equal success: Billy Cosgrove, who enriches the Church and drowns deer for mounted trophies; Mrs. Thwaite, another benefactress, who watches three T. V. sets from a wheelchair and can be transported to her bomb shelter by elevator; Chester, a resort operator whose cottages are named Jolly, Good, and Fun.

Powers' eyes don't rove; they pounce on people with a sweet savagery. "Morte d'Urban" doesn't critically appraise Catholicism, the state of the nation, or the human race. It merely reveals the humor and pathos of one man's life whose failure to know his true self isn't unique.

The novel moves like a meandering river—one can't be certain of the outcome, but fascination doesn't lag enroute. Urban's "death" is sudden and swift, and because his vaudeville show has been so convincing to the end, the tragedy of enlightenment is a blow to the mid-section, not soon forgotten. A tribute to Powers, whose play-off leaves no doubt he under-

stands and tolerates, not only with laughter but also with great sensitivity.

—Nancy Holmes

## It May Lead to Public Action

SILENT SPRING, *Rachel Carson*, drawings by *Lois and Louis Darling*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, \$5.00, 368 pp.)

*But, Musie, thou art no thy lane,  
In proving foresight may be vain:  
The best-laid schemes o' mice an'  
    men gang aft agley,  
An' lea'e us naught but grief an' pain  
    for promised joy!*

from "To A Mouse"  
— Robert Burns

From plowed field to surrounding sea, Robert Burns and Rachel Carson are kindred souls in their love and reverence of nature and its living creatures. In like manner, they share a mistrust of man's interference with the workings of nature and a fear of the consequences of such action.

In "Silent Spring" Miss Carson has produced a lucid, eloquent (albeit somewhat emotional) indictment of present-day practice in the use of herbicides and insecticides. She leaves little doubt that we have often gone astray in our almost child-like fascination to use these new agents which so efficiently kill crabgrass, weeds, bugs, insects—and rabbits, squirrels, fish, and man.

Piece by piece, she builds a picture of intentional and of inadvertent destruction of wild life. The Mirimadi salmon, the backyard robin, Alabama quail, the fire ant, the coddling moth—the story of each is carefully mortised into a solid wall of circumstantial but certain evidence against the unkindled use of the chlorinated hydrocarbons, cholinesterase inhibitors and others. The indictment is not so much against the materials themselves but against their thoughtless use by man.

Presented with this chemical scythe, man has cut a swath through nature oblivious to the fact that it slices in more than one direction. "Silent Spring" documents the undesired results of this silent reaper on those populations of useful, frequently delightful, and more often necessary creatures. Miss Carson notes in detail the ecologic chain that links all living creatures together and how disruption of one link may completely

distort the whole. Though one insect may be temporarily suppressed by poisoning, others, released thereby from their normal biologic restraints, replace it in profusion. I think it sardonically humorous that man himself participates directly in this sequence. The essential removal of insect vectors, and thereby malaria, typhus, and other diseases, has led directly to the human population explosion. Similarly, we increase our bountiful harvests by use of herbicides and insecticides and complain then of the cost of storing the products of our efforts. We praise the results of our scientific handiwork but turn in despair at their social, economic, and political consequences.

The capacity of man to alter his environment is clear. It is also quite apparent that what can be done is not necessarily what should be done. If man is to act creatively he should also feel constrained to think creatively. As Miss Carson points out, this we have not done. It is paradoxical that we adopt essentially destructive means in an attempt to reach a constructive goal. I find it difficult to equate death with life. Miss Carson shrewdly points to one solution of this dilemma through the use of biologic control mechanisms. Certainly this requires creative thought and action, not merely in the field of biology and ecology but more importantly in the spheres of economics and politics.

I am obviously biased in favor of Miss Carson's premise as exhibited in "Silent Spring." I can criticize little of the book in principle. However, the sections on cancer and

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genetic alterations suffer from a deficiency of documentation. The reasoning is primarily inferential and from the scientific viewpoint inadmissible. Hydrocarbons may be potentially mutagenic but so are many other phenomena including caffeine and the wearing of trousers. Even if the latter were proved significant for man I doubt that the U. S. male would immediately don a kilt.

Though these are the weakest sections of "Silent Spring" from the factual viewpoint, they are by far the most cogent for man. None of the animal experimentation of thalidomide showed its potential for altering embryonic development. The relationship, however, appears undeniable and no one would seriously consider setting up that sacred cow of researchers, the controlled experiment, to verify the association. What a pity if in two or three generations the associations Miss Carson suggests between chlorinated hydrocarbons and mutations become manifest. Who knows what "garden variety disease" may appear from this uncalculated, uncontrolled, unthinking assault on nature. The incidence of any disease produced is inconsequential—one can not be just 5 per cent pregnant.

Hopefully, "Silent Spring" may change public opinion sufficiently to lead, through social and political channels, to better control and inspection of these agents by competent unbiased individuals. I would be delighted if the fears Miss Carson expresses and I have harbored are proven wrong. We shall not know until it is too late, however, unless the Public Health Service, FDA, and Department of Agriculture are provided with the appropriate means for control, study, and unbiased evaluation.

I fear, however, that in the best and cleanest of all possible worlds of the future—free of weeds and crabgrass, sod-wed worms and coddling moths, ants and beetles—that some of us may dimly and wishfully recall the days of "Lady bug, lady bug, fly away home;" the geometric purity of a dew-dropped spider web; the pulse-cracking sound of a covey of quail on the rise.

—Robert T. Manning, M.D.



## Innocent Assumptions and Serious Questions

A SHADE OF DIFFERENCE, *Allen Drury*, (Doubleday and Company, \$4.95, 603 pp.)

Allen Drury's new book is a war novel—cold, not hot. Drury has turned his journalist's eye to the United Nations, and he successfully exhibits that organization in all its panoply and all its fumbling. His aggressive partisanship weakens "A Shade of Difference" with the black or white of clumsy melodrama; but competent, well-detailed observation redeems it from mediocrity.

Oxford-Harvard educated Terrible Terry, the M'bulu of Gorontoland, comes to the UN to demand independence for his minor African nation one year earlier than England has scheduled. He also comes seeking notoriety, and finds it quickly enough when, seven feet tall and in golden robes, he leads a Negro child to desegregated school in Charleston. The good Charleston ladies honor his gesture with fresh eggs and bad tomatoes, deftly tossed.

Back at the UN, delegates embittered by American racial prejudice and memories of past colonialism explode the Charleston incident into a show-down issue. Panama's canal-hungry ambassador introduces a resolution condemning the United States for racial discrimination.

The book's major events follow from this resolution. Along the way we are treated to a beating, adultery, the endless politicking of Turtle Bay and Washington, a dying Senator proclaiming universal love, and Drury's cynical but not fatalistic inside view of the glass-walled citadel of world peace.

If "A Shade of Difference" is not a novel of great form, it is at least a major problem novel, sharply and competently developing the potential for bad will inherent in America's polite form of apartheid. In this decade of tired fiction, academic, lapidary, and weightless, Drury's book carries its weight, no mean portage.

Drury stages one scene we would all delight to play. President Harley Hudson, surely Harry Truman's alter ego, stands up to the Soviets at Geneva after a Russian threat to bomb America from the moon has brought the world to a hush, and tells them:

Blow us up, then! And we will blow you up, then! And let us together blow up the world, then! And that will be the end of humanity, then! And what will you accomplish, can you tell me? You are childish and unworthy to be trusted with your great responsibilities.

There are many flaws in "A Shade of Difference." Drury's assumption of American righteousness and good will is unnecessarily innocent. His tendency to make all Negroes, African or American, lil' chillen strugglin' t' understand, shows him to be the victim of the very evil he attacks. He exhibits an almost abject worship of men in high American office—their only weaknesses are the bodily ills of age—so that they struggle not against temptation but only against heart trouble. His characterization is

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always either vindictive or sentimental, a grave flaw that, more than any other, vitiates the book's worth.

Yet "A Shade of Difference" is a competent successor to "The Ugly American." It's in this new tradition of the hastily-written but seriously questioning work that Drury's book deserves to be placed.

—Richard Rhodes

## Room for Improvement

GROWING UP IN RIVER CITY,  
*Robert J. Havighurst, Paul Hoover Bowman, Gordon P. Liddle, Charles V. Matthews, and James V. Pierce, (John Wiley and Sons, \$4.50, 189 pp.)*

River City, the county seat of Van Buren County, has approximately 44,000 residents, scarcely more than it had in 1900. Located on the Great Inland River, it bears some of the traditional characteristics of a river town yet has a strong cultural tradition with a special appreciation of good music. With half the labor force industrial and a strong rural population, it is a typical part of the great midwest.

Every year in River City about 800 children leave their childhood pleasures and enter the early stages of adolescence. Within ten years they will have become full-fledged adults. What happens during these ten years will determine, at least in part, what kind of adults they become. It will shape the extent to which they are destined to give or to receive from the society which produced and must accommodate them. It will influence the achievements, the rewards, the richness of their mature years.

River City is a pseudo-name. But this report is a real-life study of some 500 youngsters, mostly eleven years old, selected for observation in 1951 when they were in the sixth grade of River City public schools. The authors, all social scientists at the University of Chicago, have produced a comprehensive report on the findings of a careful nine-year study of human development. In this study they have attempted to correlate selected measures of adult "success" with certain predictor variables chosen to describe the youngster and his environment. Which children become delinquent? Which ones become pregnant in high school or marry early? Which ones go to college? Which ones drop out of school? And what

are the factors which appear to govern the odds in life's great game?

The results of this fascinating "longitudinal" study can be summarized simply. In general, the more talented youngsters become the more successful adults. But family social and economic status is shown to be a factor of overriding importance. Personal and social adjustment also contribute. In essence, the kids with the best chance are those with talent, poise, and position.

Of course, there are exceptions to these rules — but just enough to prove that social mobility actually exists. Over 60 per cent of the girls from the lower-class families had dropped out of school and were married by eighteen. For upper-middle class girls the figure was 10 per cent. Of boys in the upper quarter of intellectual ability, one in five of the lowest class group went to college versus nine out of ten for the upper-middle class. Virtually all of the serious delinquents were drawn from lower-class homes.

Ironically, the role of the church appears to be the weakest where it is needed the most — in making contact with prospective delinquents and drop-outs. On the other hand, there appears to be strong church support for the more highly bred children who are safe bets to make it on their own.

Not scholarly in tone or presentation, this is a serious text well peppered with convincing statistics and case studies. Entirely factual and reportorial in its content, the authors have avoided the temptation to point to the social implications of their findings. The reader will have to pose interpretive questions for himself. For

example, do these findings mean that equality of opportunity is more myth than reality in mid-20th century democratic America? Or do they simply indicate how much more room there is for the development and utilization of America's human resources in the quest for a more perfect social structure?

—Herbert Jacobs

## Brotherly Love

TWO BROTHERS, *Vasco Pratolini*, translated from the Italian by Barbra Kennedy (Orion Press, \$3.95, 154 pp.)

When you have resented your brother and then learned to love him, only to have him die, it is tragic and too late for both of you. Except perhaps to seek atonement, as in *Two Brothers*, a story offered, by the narrator's own admission, "in sterile expiation."

It is addressed directly to the brother. "You were twenty-five days old when mamma died," it begins. With enveloping sadness the narrator recalls their childhood and adolescence. He tells of their violent reactions to each other, how they tried to "know" their dead mother, of the relationship with their aging grandmother, and finally of the dawn of mutual understanding.

This is another of Vasco Pratolini's realistic, lyrical novels. It is a brief book of memories, vignettes, impressions. There are 50 chapters in 154 pages. The simple, at times staccato style avoids sentimentality, yet de-

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velops strong emotions. One feels sorrow and joy. More important, through the love of two brothers, we see the most fundamental love of all — universal brotherly love: the sense of responsibility, care, and respect necessary for human survival.

## Worries of a (Middle-Class) Father

**SUBURBIA'S CODDLED KIDS**  
*Peter Wyden*, illustrated by *Frank B. Modell*, (Doubleday, \$3.50, 136 pp.)

Peter Wyden's book is an essay on the fears and apprehensions of a suburban father.

Mr. Wyden apparently knows much about life in suburban communities. He chose most of his material from Highland Park, Illinois — a Chicago suburb of some 25,000 persons, often described as a middleclass town, and from Bellefontaine Neighbors, a brand-new development near St. Louis, with a population just beginning to enter the rank and status of the lower-middle class.

On its early pages Mr. Wyden's book is searching for answers to important, if not decisive educational questions: "What sort of picture of the world are our children getting by growing up in the suburb?" "Will they be equipped later to take the knocks of adult existence?"

From then on—and often enough taking chances of misjudgement—he delivers an enormous inventory of shortcomings in suburban life. Since such shortcomings are demonstrable and since Mr. Wyden has sensitivity and journalistic skill, his diagnosis of many elements of suburban culture, being essentially negative, is very impressive, but not without danger to a full understanding of the true meaning of modern metropolitan expansion for the American family and its youth.

Individual incidents of youth behavior often reflect extremes and possibly exceptions from actual norms. Not all suburban children try to pay for a 35c school lunch by producing a \$50 bill. Not all such children have never seen a Negro child. And many children, urban or suburban, might ask a teacher why, with his talents, he does not seek a more lucrative way of making a living. And many children, within and without the metropolitan geography, do not know much about their fathers. And wasn't this condition worse during the early de-

cades of modern industrial development when fathers worked ten, twelve, and more hours away from home?

The alteration of parental roles is certainly not just the result of suburban development. And the expectation of a "decline of male roles" for children "to identify with" will have to be deferred until we can see and say what father is really like and what he means to his wife and children within the family structure itself — notwithstanding the difference between urban and suburban availability.

Just the same, the fears of this writer-father are clearly and often rather beautifully revealed and some value may be derived from this literary outburst of concern. This outburst has some motivations which are implied and sometimes even expressed in the book: one is the parental reaction to almost all adolescent acts revealing the desire for independence at one time and for dependency at another. The other is the justifiable worry about all the things missing in new communities, communities so new that do not yet deserve the name; so new they often are no more than technically utilitarian real estate arrangements waiting for the personal and social touches of human beings who need to live together.

The complaints and warnings in Mr. Wyden's book — in the general context of growing recognition of principles for the creation of a truly good community life, much more possible in suburbia than among inner-city cliff-dwellers, could help to accelerate the performance of the duty before us. Not too surprising, the book ends with a simple and quite intelligent statement of faith in children and young people, in their "natural resistance to damage," and with the honest recognition that suburban life is here to stay.

—William H. Brueckner

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## BOOKS FOR FOCUS

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*The following books, selected from those received for review, recommend themselves by virtue of their topical or literary qualities:*

*The Algerians*, by Pierre Bourdieu (208 pp.; Beacon Press; \$3.95). An outline of Algerian society by one of

France's more discerning young sociologists from the University of Lille.

*The Best American Short Stories* 1962, edited by Martha Foley and David Burnett (436 pp.; Houghton Mifflin Co.; \$5.50). Including this year stories by John Updike, Flannery O'Connor, Arthur Miller, Donald Hall, and seventeen others. Good if not always best.

*The Thin Red Line*, by James Jones (495 pp.; Scribners; \$5.95). Jones' finest novel since "From Here to Eternity." It deals with the campaign of Guadalcanal and is clearly one of the important works of fiction of 1962.

*Novelist of Three Worlds: Ford Madox Ford*, by Paul L. Wiley (321 pp.; Syracuse University Press; \$5.50). A study of the man and the novels that refuse to fade by a professor at Wisconsin University. Thorough, critical, useful.

*Existentialism and Religious Liberalism*, by John F. Hayward (131 pp.; Beacon Press; \$3.95). Conservative religious liberalism by an associate professor of theology at Meadville Theological School, University of Chicago.

*What a Way to Go*, by Wright Morris (311 pp.; Atheneum; \$5.00). Not one of Morris' most moving novels, but entertaining and perceptive. A middle-aged professor and a girl in Italy, Greece, and bed.

*The Points of My Compass*, by E. B. White (240 pp.; Harper & Row; \$4.00). Mr. White's pieces from the New Yorker. Beautiful prose that tends to fall apart in a book.

*The Public Happiness*, by August Heckscher (304 pp.; Atheneum; \$5.75). The Special White House Consultant on the Arts tries to make us feel at home in a world of irony and paradox. If a book could do it, his would.

*The Living and the Dead*, by Konstantin Simonov (552 pp.; Doubleday; \$5.95). A novel about World War II on the Russian front by the author of "Days and Nights." Modestly successful.

*New Mexico*, by Warren A. Beck (363 pp.; University of Oklahoma Press; \$5.95). A history of four centuries in New Mexico by a professor at Orange State College, Fullerton, California. Rich in dates and names, dry in language: the price of conciseness.

## VOTING RECORDS

(Continued from Page 28)

### HOUSE BILLS

**A Ban Poll Tax:** SJ Res 29 Constitutional amendment to ban the use of poll tax as requirement for voting in federal elections. Approved 295-86; R 132-15; D 163-71 (ND 132-1; SD 31-70); (8-27-62). (This was 41 "yeas" more than the two-thirds necessary for approval.) A "yea" supports the President.

**B CLEAR SATELLITE CORP.: HR 11040** Communications Satellite Act of 1962, providing for the establishment of a private corporation to own, establish and operate a commercial communications satellite system. Resolution (H Res 769) agreeing to Senate amendments and clearing the bill for the President's signature. Resolution adopted 373-10; R 150-0; D 223-10 (ND 125-8; SD 98-2); (8-27-62). A "yea" supports the President.

**C PASS UN BILL:** S 2768 Authorizes the President to match up to \$100 million in purchases of United Nations bonds by other UN members. Passed 257-134; R 66-88; D 191-46 (ND 133-2; SD 58-44); Sept. 14, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**D FOREIGN AID:** HR 13175 Passage of the bill providing \$3,630,400,000 for foreign economic and military aid and \$2,326,452,000 for other aid in fiscal 1963. Passed 249-144; R 75-83; D 174-61 (ND 129-10; SD 45-51), Sept. 20, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**E CALLUP AUTHORITY:** SJ 224 Grant the President standby authority, until Feb. 28, 1963, to call up 150,000 members of the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months and to extend enlistments and obligated periods of service which would otherwise expire after that date, but before the end of the period of special active duty, for up to 12 months. Passed 342-13; R 132-11; D 210-2 (ND 115-1; SD 95-1), Sept. 24, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**F WESTERN HEMISPHERE RESOLUTION:** SJ Res 230 Express U. S. determination to prevent the spread of Communism from Cuba to the rest of the Western Hemisphere by any means necessary, including the use of arms. Passed 384-7; R 144-7; D 240-0, Sept. 26, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

*Water Street*, by James Merrill (53 pp.; Atheneum; \$1.65; paperbound). Mr. Merrill's third book of poems—elegant, intelligent, wide-ranging. Another in Atheneum's admirable series of paperbound editions of new poetry.

*Devil's Yard*, by Ivo Andric (137 pp.; Grove Press; \$3.95). An earlier novel by the Yugoslavian winner of the 1961 Nobel Prize for literature. The sweep is epic in miniature within the walls of an Istanbul prison. Distinguished fiction.

*Grierson's Raid*, by D. Alexander Brown (261 pp.; University of Illinois Press; \$1.75; paperbound). The story of a cavalry raid Sherman called "the most brilliant expedition of the Civil War." Originally published in 1954. Mr. Brown is on the faculty of the University of Illinois, and is an authority on Americana.

W.S.



## Letters

(Continued from page 4)

with so little advertising that it is undoubtedly (and has been for some time) a deficit operation.

Believe me, as a publisher, I get tired of these noble, young creators who believe that because of their tender sensibilities and "creative art," the world owes them a living. To attack the people at the *Tribune* who are struggling to stem the tides of slaughterhouse Chicago is merely to have a tantrum with about as much result.

Sure, let's attack the many evils of Midwest materialism. But let's play according to the rules. No personal attacks. If it is the quality of the *Tribune* book section being appraised (or attacked if necessary) then limit it to that and let's have it done by someone with a little more maturity.

*Bernard B. Perry*  
Director  
Indiana University Press

### Congratulatory (and Others!)

F/M: . . . I have read the first two issues. I have the notion that your publication is another mouthpiece for the wilderness liberals of the Democratic Party, and being a Primitive Liberal (a conservation of 1962) I regret that I am not interested in subscribing. I am waiting to observe if your publication will ever publish any of Mr. Buckley's magnissima opera. Sorry.

*Hudson R. Sours*  
Illinois State Senator  
Peoria

(NOTE: You'll never know if you don't subscribe.)

F/M: For weeks I've been intending to send this check to you folks who are doing such an excellent job of editing and publishing *FOCUS/Midwest*. While I don't believe all that's written there by any means, I do find the material well-written, provocative and certainly most essential if one wants to be fair and examine both sides of the question.

*Joseph T. Meek*, President  
Illinois Retail Merchants Assoc.

(NOTE: Mr. Meek was the Republican nominee for the U. S. Senate against Senator Paul Douglas in 1954.)

F/M: Hurray for *FOCUS/Midwest*! It's just exactly the kind of

magazine I like. So do many high school and undergraduate university students I know. I also like the contributing editors, the art director, and the list of editorial advisors. *FOCUS/Midwest* is a magazine that can really GO.

*Virginia Durham*  
Warson Woods, Mo.

F/M: . . . I have enjoyed the magazine, and have found it very readable, informative, and intellectually stimulating.

*Prof. Martin L. Faust*  
University of Missouri

F/M: . . . I have been enjoying the magazine a great deal. As a resident of Chicago and Springfield, Mo., it is especially interesting.

*Lawrence S. Grow*

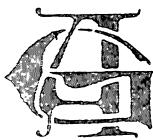
F/M: . . . Your publication has certainly resonated a responsive chord of midwest liberalism. I sincerely trust that you will maintain this organ on an objective plan so that *FOCUS/Midwest* will become known as a militantly responsive voice to the blatant bleatings of the conservatives. Nonetheless I also hope that this publication will take issue with liberals when their words and deeds become disparate from the commonweal. . . .

*Ralph Mansfield*  
Chairman, Dept. of Mathematics  
Wright Junior College

### Missouri Desegregation Status

Total School Districts	1,692
School Districts with	
Negroes and Whites	214
Desegregated Districts	203
White Enrollment	760,950
Negro Enrollment	84,550
Negroes in Desegregated Districts	75,000
Negroes in Schools with Whites	35,000
Proportion of Negroes in Schools with	
White to Total	
Negro Enrollment	41.4%
All figures are estimates. From the Southern Education Reporting Service, May 1962, as reported in <i>Congressional Quarterly</i> .	

## GUILD IN FOCUS



*The St. Louis Artist Guild has exclusively accredited FOCUS/Midwest to publish "Guild in Focus."*

MRS. JOSEPH L. TUCKER

St. Louisans with any penchant for art can participate fully in an entire week-end of activities centered on the theme: Contemporary American Painting. The St. Louis Artists' Guild is sponsoring an exhibition and sale of fifty-one paintings from New York galleries. This exhibition is unusual in that it was selected by painters—Wallace Smith and Fred Conway. In the opinions of the gallery directors these paintings are the best America is producing today.

The spectrum is wide and encompasses the "realism" of Andrew Wyeth, Robert Vickery, and John Marin; the "abstraction" of Lee Gatch, Kenzo Okada, and Richard Pousette-Darte; the "expressionism" of Raphael Soyer and Abraham Rattner; the figures of Richard Diebenkorn, David Park, and Elmer Bischoff; the "surrealism" of Charles Burchfield and Walter Murch. There are names well known for a long time, such as H. V. Poor and Stuart Davis, and others not yet familiar—Lee Savage, Robert Marx, and Nancy Grossman. The exhibit is open to the public at the Guild's headquarters, from November 3rd through the 22nd.

To heighten the value of the exhibition, the Guild is sponsoring a symposium with the show as their focus, moderated by Norris K. Smith, at Steinberg Hall, Washington University, November 3rd, 3 p.m. Participants are Leslie Laskey, William Quinn, Father Timothy Horner, and Harold Meeskie. On November 4th, 3 p.m., Perry Rathbone, director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, discusses the exhibition with Smith and Conway at the City Art Museum. This is an unusual opportunity of hearing multiple views on contemporary American Painting by men who are involved in the study or creation of paintings.

Page Twenty-six

## OPERA NEWS



*Official monthly bulletin of the August Opera Festival, the Civic Opera Association, and the St. Louis Grand Opera Guild.*

EDWARD CORN

Opera companies in St. Louis have had a very high mortality rate. It is therefore astounding to realize that the St. Louis Grand Opera Guild has survived a quarter of a century—sometimes flourishing, sometimes languishing, but always maintaining its integrity.

Since 1955, when Dorothy Ziegler became musical director of the Grand Opera Guild, it has accomplished much for the benefit of St. Louis singers, both amateurs and those aspiring to professional careers. Miss Ziegler believes that every singer should be encouraged to keep up his artistic endeavors. Beyond that, she hopes to create a trained nucleus of talent in St. Louis that will be ready when the city can present regularly its own full season of professional grand opera. The Grand Opera Guild provides both a training company, where coaching is available, and a showcase, where the singers can gain experience before audiences.

The Grand Opera Guild has just formed a new Singers' Division, which will provide musical outlets for many former members of the Guild who now can no longer find the time to engage in the major activities.

In the last few years Miss Ziegler and the members of the Grand Opera Guild have turned increasingly to educational projects, to bring the enjoyment of and a familiarity with opera to high school and college students. Last season an abbreviated version of Bizet's "Carmen" was given for high school audiences, and this fall a virtually complete production of Puccini's "Madame Butterfly" is being offered.

The set for "Butterfly" was designed and built by Nathan Ettlinger, master painter at the Municipal Opera.

The Grand Opera Guild annually

## MUSIC NOTES



*Official bulletin of the Civic Music League and New Music Circle.*

EDWARD L. EYERMAN, PRESIDENT

We are grateful to FOCUS/Midwest for this opportunity to contact our members and the public.

A truly great virtuosi of our day will open the Civic Music League season at the Opera House of Kiel Auditorium. Rudolf Serkin has appeared as soloist with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, but this will be the first time he has ever given a piano recital in this area.

The League had to schedule the performance for Friday, November 30 because Mr. Serkin could only appear on that date.

The 1962-63 season will be among the most stimulating ever offered. Mr. Serkin will be followed by Mary Costa, soprano, on January 30, by the Leonard Bernstein Gala on February 11; by the San Francisco Ballet on March 27; and by Jerome Hines, basso, on April 23.

In this introductory column, it may be appropriate to say a word about the St. Louis Civic Music League. The organization is a non-profit corporation with minimal help and office space. Its purpose is to offer high quality musical events at nominal cost to the members. Purchasers of season tickets become members; no tickets for single performance are sold. Tickets are priced at \$10. \$7.50, and \$5.00, and may be purchased at the office, 386a North Euclid, or by phoning FOrest 1-6840.

sponsors the local Metropolitan Opera Auditions (this year on January 26); presents the winners in concert at the City Art Museum (on February 5, accompanied by a full production of "Cavalleria Rusticana"); and offers one major production (this year "Pagliacci," on November 27 at the Art Museum Auditorium). In spring the Guild will undertake a new venture: it will join the Kirkwood Symphony Orchestra for an expanded performance of "Carmen." All these activities are open to the public without charge.

FOCUS/Midwest

## EDITORIALS

Continued from page 6

the amendment.) Some other state representatives did the same thing; they worked and voted for the Article in 1957 but opposed it in 1958. Last month the Downstate Republican interests nearly managed to stall even the lukewarm endorsement adopted at the Republican state convention.

Senator David Davis of Bloomington and former Senator Lotti Holman O'Neill from DuPage County are opposing the Article. The County Officials Association and the Township Officials Association in Illinois are working sub-rosa to defeat the amendment.

They are opposing the amendment on the basis that Cook County's membership on the Supreme Court is being trebled — but even after the amendment is passed downstate still has four to Cook County's three members. (Cook County has over half the population of the entire state.)

Another development concerns the establishment of city courts in the Chicago area in anticipation that the Amendment will pass. Existing statutes enable cities, despite their very small populations, to put to a referendum the question of whether or not the municipality will establish a city or village court. The judge is paid by the state and it affords political parties a chance to pass out patronage jobs to deserving party members in the form of judgeships, clerkships, bailiff jobs, etc. If the Judicial Article does not pass, they will keep the courts anyway because the judge's salary is paid by the state. If the Article passes, then these judges will be blanketed into the judicial system as Associate Judges of the Circuit Court. This does not mean that the legislature will keep all of the Associate Judges who would be brought into the new system, but they must be retained at least during the terms for which they were elected.

There are at least nine municipalities in Cook County which are presently contemplating this move and more of them seem to crop up almost daily. Unfortunately, they will have until January 1, 1964, to do this, and it is entirely possible that more such courts will spring up after November, if the Blue Ballot Judicial Amendment is approved. Proponents argue that this will insure home rule and the local area will not have to give up any of its "sovereignty" to either the Democratic party in Chicago or to the state government in Springfield.

Rep. Anthony Scariano of Park Forest, Illinois, has asked Gov. Otto Kerner to consider at the Special Session to be held after the November election the possibility of legislating a moratorium on the creation of any more of these Municipal Courts. This would give the General Assembly a chance to implement the Judicial Article — should it be approved by the voters.

November, 1962

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**SENATE BILLS**

**A KILLS WITHHOLDING: HR 10650**  
 Committee amendment to delete a provision to withhold 20% of dividends and most forms of interest at their source and substitute a provision to require corporations and financial institutions to report any dividend, interest, or patronage payment in excess of \$10 per person per year. Adopted 66-20: R 32-1; D 34-19 (ND 14-16; SD 20-3). A "nay" supports the President.

**B REJECT TAX AMENDMENT: HR 10650**  
 Hartke (D Ind.) amendment to substitute for a committee provision requiring reporting of interest and dividend payments, a new section requiring withholding of taxes on interest and dividend income except on deposits in commercial banks, mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations. Rejected 20-69: R 1-30; D 19-39 (ND 16-20; SD 3-19), Sept. 5, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**C EARNINGS ABROAD: HR 10650** Gore (D Tenn.) amendment to reduce from \$35,000 to \$6,000 the limitation in the bill on income that may be earned by Americans living abroad without being subjected to U. S. income taxes. Rejected 36-53; R 7-24; D 29-29 (ND 23-13; SD 6-16), Sept. 5, 1962. The President did not take a position.

**D TAX BILL: HR 10650** Revenue Act of 1962. Passed 59-24; R 19-10; D 40-14; (ND 24-10; SD 16-4), Sept. 6, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**E READY RESERVE AUTHORITY: SJ Res 224** Resolution granting the President standby authority, until Feb. 28, 1963, to call up 150,000 members of the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months and to extend enlistments and obligated periods of service which would otherwise expire after that date, but before the end of the period of special active duty, for up to 12 months. Adopted 76-0, Sept. 13, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**F TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1962, REJECT DIRKSEN AMENDMENT: HR 11970**: Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment reducing the President's negotiating authority from five years to three. Rejected 28-56; R 23-5; D 5-51 (ND 0-35; SD 5-16) Sept. 18, 1962. A "nay" supports the President.

**G PASSAGE: HR 11970** Passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Passed 78-8; R 22-7; D 56-1 (ND 37-0; SD 19-1), Sept. 19, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**H WESTERN HEMISPHERE RESOLUTION: SJ 230** Express U.S. determination to prevent the spread of Communism from Cuba to the rest of the Western Hemisphere, by any means necessary, including the use of arms. Passed 86-1; R 29-1; D 57-0, Sept. 20, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**I COMMUNIST MAIL: HR 7927** Postal rate increases and federal employee pay raises. Clark (D Pa.) substitute amendment (for a provision permitting delivery of intercepted Communist political propaganda only upon request of the addressee) to require placement of public notices or the sending of notices through the mails when necessary to warn the public that Communist propaganda and obscene matter might be sent through the mails. Rejected 23-51; R 1-23; D 22-28 (ND 20-11; SD 2-17), Sept. 27, 1962. The President did not take a position.

**J COMMUNIST MAIL: HR 7927** Clark (D Pa.) amendment permitting the President to waive the provision requiring interception of Communist political propaganda if he determined that it was in the national interests to permit the handling of mail in accord with international postal agreement or for any other reason. Rejected 33-48; R 3-23; D 30-25 (ND 28-7; SD 2-18), Sept. 27, 1962. The President did not take a position.

**K PASS POSTAL BILL: HR 7927** Bill raises postal rates to produce \$603 million in new revenue when fully effective in 1964, and raises salaries for most federal employees. Passed 72-3; R 23-1; D 49-2 (ND 34-0; SD 15-2), Sept. 27, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**L AID RESTRICTIONS: HR 13175** Adoption of Senate Appropriations Committee amendments barring aid to nations which aided Cuba or permitted their ships to

## Voting Records of Area Legislators

Senators	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Edward V. Long (D., Mo.)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)	PY	A	A	PY	AY	PN	Y

	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.)	Y	N	N	PY	A	A	Y
Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)	Y	N	N	Y	PY	PY	Y
Edward V. Long (D., Mo.)	AY	A	A	PY	N	N	Y
Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

### Dist. Representatives

	Illinois	A	B	C	D	E	F
1 William L. Dawson (D)	PY	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Barratt O'Hara (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 William T. Murphy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Edward J. Derwinski (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	A	
5 John C. Kluczynski (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
6 Thomas J. O'Brien (D)	PY	A	PY	PY	A	A	
7 Roland V. Libonati (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Sidney R. Yates (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	
10 Harold R. Collier (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
11 Roman C. Pucinski (D)	AY	AY	Y	Y	Y	Y	
12 Edward R. Finnegan (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
13 Marguerite S. Church (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
14 Elmer J. Hoffman (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
15 Noah B. Mason (R)	A	A	PN	PN	N	Y	
16 John B. Anderson (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
17 Leslie C. Arends (R)	A	A	PY	Y	Y	Y	
18 Robert H. Michel (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	A	
19 Robert B. Chiperfield (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
20 Paul Findley (R)	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	
21 Peter F. Mack, Jr. (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
22 William L. Springer (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
23 George E. Shipley (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
24 C. Melvin Price (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
25 Kenneth J. Gray (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

### Missouri

1 Frank M. Karsten (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Thomas B. Curtis (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Leonor K. Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 William J. Randall (D)	Y	Y	PY	Y	Y	Y
5 Richard Bolling (D)	A	A	Y	Y	A	A
6 W. R. Hull, Jr. (D)	Y	Y	Y	PN	Y	Y
7 Durward G. Hall (R)	PY	A	N	N	Y	Y
8 Richard H. Ichord (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Clarence Cannon (D)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Paul C. Jones (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Morgan M. Moulder (D)	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y

### Key to Symbols:

PN—Paired against the Bill  
 Y—Voting for the Bill  
 N—Voting against the Bill  
 PY—Paired for the Bill

PN—Paired against the Bill

AY—Announced for the Bill  
 AN—Announced against the Bill  
 A—Absent, or General Fair

deliver strategic items to Cuba, and barring shipping of foreign aid cargoes in ships of nations which shipped goods to Cuba, unless the President determined that withholding U. S. aid or cargoes would be detrimental to U. S. national interests. Adopted 39-36; R 12-14; D 27-22 (ND 23-8; SD 4-14), Oct. 1, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**M PRESIDENTIAL DISCRETION: HR 13175** Adoption of Senate Appropriations Committee amendments barring aid to Communist countries, including 18 listed nations, unless the President determined and reported to Congress that the aid

was vital to U. S. security, that the recipient was not controlled by the international Communist conspiracy and that the aid would promote the recipient's independence from international Communism. Adopted 39-37; R 9-16; D 30-21 (ND 25-8; SD 5-13), Oct. 1, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

**N FOREIGN AID: HR 13175** Passage of the bill providing \$4,422,800,000 in military and economic aid for fiscal 1963 and \$2,358,602,000 in other funds for fiscal 1963. Passed 57-24; R 18-9; D 39-15 (ND 31-3; SD 8-12), Oct. 2, 1962. A "yea" supports the President.

(House Votes Listed on Page 26)